AFRICAN STUDIES

(Formerly Bantu Studies)

VOLUME 6. No. 1; MARCH 1947

A COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF THE VERB FORMS IN FOUR LANGUAGES OF THE WEST CENTRAL BANTU GROUP

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The present paper is a continuation of the writer's previous comparative studies of Lunda, Lwena, Chokwe and Luchazi. Comparative studies of verb systems in different Bantu languages are often rather unfruitful as they differ so extensively from language to language. But in the present case it is felt that sufficient relationship is present to make the comparison worth while. Apart from the finite moods of the verb the non-finite forms of the infinitive and imperative have been included for the sake of completeness.

The positive and negative conjugations of the verb are treated separately, the verb "to cultivate" being used for the most part to illustrate tense formations, the first person plural of each tense for each language being quoted.

For those who seek fuller illustrations of the uses of the tenses the writer would recommend reference to Horton, *Grammar of Lwena* and Fisher, *Lunda Handbook*. The present paper is concerned with the comparative morphology of the verb forms and their scope in space and time. The subjectival and objectival verb concords are not discussed except for passing references where necessary.

The writer makes no apologies for the fact that there are one or two "loose ends" in this survey, particularly as regards Luchazi. This shows the importance of further comparative research in other languages allied to Luchazi to enable these anomalies to be correctly classified. The drawing attention to them may perhaps stimulate the collection of further data.

THE INFINITIVE:

In all four languages the simple infinitive occurs in an identical form composed of the verb stem with the prefix *ku-*. This has been already described in *African Studies* (1944, p. 159).

There is no future form of the infinitive, but the formative *-ka-* may be infixed in all four languages to denote distance in space or time, usually the former.

Examples of the use of the infinitive common to all languages of this group are:—

(a) As a substantive subjectivally or objectivally:

Kufwa kwawu kwatuhayamishili Their death surprised us. (Lunda)

Vanatambulwisa kwenda cheni: They have imitated his walk. (Luchazi)

(b) With possessive concord to form a qualificative phrase or with conjunctive formative to form an adverbial phrase:

Vatu vakuliŋga ŋgana: People who behave thus. (Lwena)

Tuneza nikusehejela: We have come with pleasure. (Chokwe)

(c) Used absolutely, followed by the same verb to give emphasis:

Kumwiluka, namwiluki! Know him! of course I know him. (Lunda)

(d) Used absolutely, followed by a negative to form a verbal negative :

Ami kukata piŋi : I am not sick. (Lunda)

Kununyiŋgika chakuhi : I do not know him. (Chokwe)

Kupwisamo chahi : There is not enough. (Luchazi)

(e) After a verb of motion with the conjunctive formative in Lunda, Lwena or Chokwe ; or with *mu-* in Chokwe and Luchazi :

Tunakuya nakuzomba : We are going hunting. (Lunda)

Vaneza mukupaŋga : They have come to work. (Luchazi)

(f) After many verbs indicating wanting, liking, intending, etc. :

Nasake kuya : He wants to go. (Lwena)

Kambaŋga kuchanda : They were about to pick it up. (Chokwe)

Associated with this is the construction of various auxiliary verbs with the sense of nearly, about to, etc.

Kukeŋa kuholoka : Nearly to fall. (Lunda)

Kwamba kuya : To be about to go. (Lwena)

(g) With the infix *-ka- :*

Wayike kukaliwana navo kuze : He went to meet them there. (Luchazi)

In Luchazi, but not in the other three languages, occur certain forms which appear to be possibly relict traces of a past infinitive. In each case they are used with auxiliary verbs, but owing to the auxiliaries having become contracted, the true construction is not apparent at a first glance. These uses may be classified as follows :

(a) With contractions of *kwamba* meaning " to intend to do." The verb *kwamba* occurs in Lwena and Chokwe in its uncontracted form in this sense. In Luchazi we find the following :

Near past : *Tune kuya :* We were about to go.

Medium past : *Twe kwile.*

Distant past : *Tune kwile* or *Tuna kwile.*

E.g. *Tune kumuvetele vunoni watinine :* We would have hit him but he ran away.

In all but the first of these tenses the infinitive has suffixed a termination identical with that used in the historic past.

(b) With contractions of *kuya* meaning " to go and do." The contraction in this case takes the form of *kwa.* The following combinations occur : Continuing present : *Tukwanakulima :* We are going about cultivating.

This is not identical with *tuli nakuya nakulima,* which simply means " we are going digging " ; the contracted form has a more frequentative sense of " going about and going on digging."

Near Past : *Tunakwanakulimine :* We went about digging.

Historic Past : *Twanakwanakulimine :* We went about digging long ago.

Imperfect historic past : *Twakwanakulima :* We were in a habit of going about digging.

In the infinitive after a verb of wishing : *Njahyaŋga kwakumimona :* I want to go to see you. This appears to be identical with *kuya mukumimona.*

It would seem that in these usages we have a situation in which an auxiliary verb is, in some cases, becoming merely a verbal formative, to form a single tense as a distinct tense ; e.g. in the special sense of the continuing present use. On the other hand, in every case we have the main verb in an infinitival form depending upon an auxiliary derived from *kuya* and this lends support to the view that in the past tenses we have a trace of a historic infinitive. The use of *kwa* in these instances would thus seem to be in a state of evolution.

There is also one use of *kwa* in which the main verb is not in the infinitive. This is when *kwa* is used with a subjunctive.

E.g. *Ambata liloŋga lyove liŋga wakwanakwende nalyo :* Take your plate so that you may have it with you as you go.

Here *kwa* has become purely a verbal formative and the main verb *kwenda* is in the subjunctive after the conjunction *liŋga.*

(c) Constructions similar to (b) in which there is a complete ellipse of *kuya.* These occur as the following tenses :

Present : *Tunanakulima :* We are going cultivating.

Near Past : *Tunanakulimine :* We went cultivating.

Historic past : *Twanakulimine :* We went cultivating.

Here also, in the past tenses, it would appear that there is a past infinitive depending upon an auxiliary which has lost its form with the lapse of time and become almost a formative only.

Although outside the scope of the present survey, the suggestion that these are past infinitives is supported by one Mbunda usage, viz. *Twashakele kumupupile cho watewele :* We were intending to hit him, but he ran away.

THE IMPERATIVE :

The true imperative exists in two forms in all four languages, a second person singular and a second person plural form. The singular form is the simple verb stem and may be found by taking the verb infinitive and removing its prefix *ku-*. The plural form is derived from the singular by dropping the final *a* and suffixing *-enu*.

E.g. Temuka : Run *Temukenu* (Lunda)
Liŋga : Do *Liŋgenu* (Lwena)
Tumama : Sit *Tumamenu* (Luchazi)
Pomba : Sleep *Pombenu* (Chokwe).

In Lunda and Lwena, where the verb stem is monosyllabic, it is never found alone, but suffixes *-ŋa* in Lunda and *-ŋga* in Lwena. This suffix is also commonly added to the plural form.

e.g. Yaŋa kwitala : Go to the house (Lunda)
Lyenuŋga shima : Eat the mush (Lwena)

In Chokwe a monosyllabic imperative may be found, but both Chokwe and Luchazi usually prefer to suffix a locative *-ko* in such a case.

e.g. Yako kundzivo : Go to the house (Luchazi)
Pwa nimana : Be sensible (Chokwe)
Lyako : Eat (Chokwe)

In these cases the suffix *-ko* appears to have lost any strictly locatival force. Both Lunda and Lwena also commonly suffix *-ku* and *-ko* respectively with monosyllabic singular imperatives, but in all four languages the *-ko* suffix appears confined in this usage to singular monosyllabic imperatives and is only used in the plural, or with polysyllabic verbs in the singular in its true locatival sense. The other locative suffixes are found with the imperatives in their true senses.

e.g. Talenuku : Look yonder (Lunda)
Nwenumo : Drink in (the cup) (Chokwe)
Saho : Put on (the table) (Chokwe).

When the imperative is preceded by a reflexive infix, by an object concord or by the prefix *ka-* implying motion or politeness, the singular imperative changes its final *a* to *e*, or to *i* in Lunda.

e.g. Litwike : Pick up your load (Luchazi)
Muvete : Hit him (Lwena)
Chitale : Look at it (Chokwe)
Kaleji : Please tell (Lunda).

In Lunda, Chokwe and Lwena the plural form of the imperative is unaffected by any of the prefixed forms mentioned above, but in Luchazi in this case the suffix *-enu* is changed to *-yenu*.

e.g. Mukwatyenu : Seize him.

By prefixing *tu-* to the plural imperative the speaker includes himself in the imperative ; thus, although strictly a second person plural imperative, it conveys the English sense of " let us do so and so."

e.g. Tuyenu : Let us go (all languages)
Tutwamenu : Let us sit down (Lwena).

In this case Luchazi suffixes *-yenu* and not *-enu :*
Tupaŋgyenu : Let us work.

Where a reduplicated verb stem occurs as an imperative, only the latter half modifies its termination.

e.g. Keŋa-keŋenu : Seek ye (Lunda)
Fupa-fupenu : Search ye (Chokwe).

With the simple imperative, when shouting, the final *a* is changed to *e* and the plural suffixes a final *e*. Luchazi, and to some extent Chokwe, does this in ordinary speech for purposes of emphasis.

e.g. Tute, tutenwe : Run (Lwena).

In this case the final *e* is lengthened and the voice remains raised. In loud shouting, *o* may replace *e* in this usage in Luchazi.

e.g. Tuntoho, Tuntenwoho : Run (the *ho* being locatival).

In all four languages the imperatives *twaya* or *tweya* and *twayenu* or *tweyenu* are found meaning, Come ! There is no corresponding verb for this, which is perhaps a relict form. Luchazi also uses

an irregular imperative meaning, Go ! viz. *Hamoye*, *Hamenu*. Abbreviations of *twaya* are found in all four languages, e.g. *Twa wumoni*, Come and see (Lunda) ; *Twa tuyenu*, Come on, let us go (all languages).

Other abbreviations are found in Luchazi, notably *ma* from *mana* being " stop, wait." This also occurs in Chokwe.

e.g. *Ma tuchitale :* Wait whilst we first look (Chokwe).

INDICATIVE MOOD : PRINCIPLE POSITIVE SIMPLE TENSES : PRESENT TENSES

Tenses denoting present time are distinguished by the modes of action which they describe.

A. Habitual or customary present :

This indicates an action already started in the past, which is now performed habitually or continuously, e.g. I eat fish, I sell cassava.

Lunda : *Twadyimaŋa*
Chokwe : *Kutwakulima*
Lwena : *Tweji kulima*
Luchazi : *Twe kulima*

In Lunda this tense is formed from the verb stem with the prefixed formative *-a-* and the suffix *-ŋa*. In Chokwe a formative *-aku-* is interposed between the subject concord and the verb stem, and *ku-* is commonly, though not invariably, prefixed to the subject concord. In Lwena a defective verb *-eji* is used followed by the infinitive, and the construction in Luchazi is similar but the defective verb is contracted to *-e*.

B. Continuing present :

A continuing present action is indicated in all four languages by means of the verb " to be," joined to the infinitive by means of the conjunctive formative. In Luchazi the locative *mu* is also found in place of the conjunctive formative. In Lunda an abbreviated form exists in which the subject concord is prefixed to the conjunctive formative, the stem of the verb " to be " being omitted. In Luchazi a further alternative occurs in which the conjunctive formative is omitted.

Lunda : *Tudyi nakudyima*, *Tutumbi nakudyima*, *Tunakudyima.*
Chokwe : *Tuli nikulima.*
Lwena : *Tuli nakulima.*
Luchazi : *Tuli nakulima*, *Tuli mukulima*, *Tulikulima.*

e.g. *Tuli nakulya shima :* We are in the act of eating mush (Lwena).

C. Habitual continuing present :

The last mentioned tense may be made habitual in Lunda by suffixing *-ŋa* to the infinitive, in Lwena by suffixing *-ŋga*, and in Chokwe and Luchazi by doubling the stem of the main verb.

e.g. *Tuli nikulima-lima :* We are always in the act of cultivating (Chokwe).

D. Stative present :

In Lunda this tense is identical in form with the near past, but is distinguished from it by having a low tone on the subject concord. (Fisher : *Lunda Handbook*, p. 17, states that the distinction is on the tone of the initial syllable of the verb stem, but I do not agree with this interpretation). In all four languages this tense is formed by interfixing *-a-* between the verb stem and the subject concord.

Lunda : *Twakama.*
Chokwe : *Twapomba.*
Lwena : *Twasavala*
Luchazi : *Twakosa.*

This tense denotes a condition or state, often a physical one such as being ill or asleep. It is also used to describe a present condition resulting from past action.

e.g. *Vatuŋga kuKabompo :* They have built at the Kabompo (Lwena).
Chatama kwila chochu : It is bad to do thus (Lunda).

In Lunda, where an intransitive verb is used to describe what is really a continuing action, the stative present is used :

e.g. *Wakama :* He is sleeping. He is asleep.

This does not appear to apply so completely to the other three languages, where especially in Chokwe a continuing present may be used.

In Chokwe, Lwena and Luchazi, distance may be denoted with this tense by interposing *-ka-* before the stem.

e.g. *Wafwa :* He is dead (Lwena)
Wakafwa kuMwinilunga : He died at Mwinilunga.

In all four languages, where a present tense would be used in English to describe a single completed act which is not stative, a present perfect tense is used in the vernacular ; e.g. I see him, I want to buy a pumpkin, I hear a hyena. In these cases the act is viewed as past, since it has been completed before the speaker speaks.

PAST TENSES :

The divisions of past time are more specialised than those of future or present time. They reach their highest degree of specialisation in Lunda and Chokwe.

A. Present perfect :

This tense is used to describe a completed past action on the same day as the speaker is speaking ; e.g. He has gone ; I have killed him (to-day). As an extension of this usage it is also used to denote what in English is represented by a present tense ; e.g. I hear you, I see him. (See note under present tenses).

Lunda : *Tunadyimi*
Chokwe : *Tunalimi*
Lwena : *Tunalimi*
Luchazi : *Tunalimi.*

This tense is, in all four languages, formed from the verb stem and subject concord with the infix *-na-*. The final *a* of the verb stem undergoes certain changes as follows :—

Lunda and **Lwena :** The final *a* is always changed to *i*.

(a) when the verb stem has more than two syllables, the final *a* is retained.

(b) when the verb stem is disyllabic, the penultimate vowel determines the final vowel in the following way :

Penultimate vowel	*a :*	final vowel becomes	*e*
,,	,,	*e :*	,,	,,	,,	*e*
,,	,,	*i :*	,,	,,	,,	*i*
,,	,,	*o :*	,,	,,	,,	*o*
,,	,,	*u :*	,,	,,	,,	*u*

Before the vowel *i* in Lwena certain consonantal changes[1] occur, viz.

[1] This is palatalisation [Ed.].

t	followed by	*i*	becomes	*chi*
nd	,,	,, *i*	,,	*nji*
n	,,	,, *i*	,,	*nyi*
s	,,	,, *i*	,,	*shi*
z	,,	,, *i*	,,	*ji.*

These consonantal changes occur in the present perfect tense, and also in some historic past tenses (see below).

(c) In monosyllabic verb stems with no semi-vowel *y* or *w*, the final *a* becomes *e*, except *kucha* (to dawn) which takes a final *i*.

(d) In monosyllabic verb stems, which commence with a semi-vowel or have a semi-vowel between the initial consonant and the final *a*, the final *a* is lost and the semi-vowel determines the final vowel, *y* becoming *i* and *w* becoming *u* ; e.g. *kuya> ŋgunayi ; kunwa> ŋgunanu.*

(e) A few verbs are irregular : e.g. *kwiza> ŋguneza.*

(f) The reflexive prefix *li-* does not affect the termination of the perfect tense, but formative suffixes do not modify the final vowel, e.g.

kulya>nalisa : He has fed
kusela> naŋguselacho: He has left it for me.

Chokwe : The final vowel modifies and consonantal changes occur as in Lwena. But in Chokwe a number of monosyllabic or disyllabic verbs do not modify the final vowel, and a few modify it irregularly.

Luchazi : (a) The Lwena rules apply. In disyllabic verb stems the final vowel often modifies, following the Lwena rules, but about a third do not. No rule can be formulated at present to explain these exceptions.

(b) Monosyllabic stems, with no semi-vowel, alter final *a* to *e*, except *kutsa* which takes a final *i*.

(c) Monosyllabic stems with a semi-vowel follow the Lwena rule.

(d) There is no consonantal modification in Luchazi.

An alternative form of this tense in Luchazi infixes *-a-* instead of *-na-*, e.g. *Njalimi.*

In Chokwe the present perfect tense may prefix *ku-* to the subject concord, except in the third person, where animate concords are used. In some cases it would seem that this has the effect

of bringing the action nearer to the present moment, but it is doubtful if this interpretation should be pressed too strongly, as the prefix *ku-* in Chokwe frequently seems to be added without any special significance. Careful comparison should be made of the uses of the present perfect and stative present tenses of those verbs which occur in the latter form. In such verbs the present perfect tense denotes action rather than condition.

e.g. *Nakami :* He has fallen asleep, but *Wakama :* He is asleep (Lunda)
Mbiji yinatami : The meat is spoiled, but *Mbiji yatama :* The meat is bad (Lunda)

B. Completed present perfect :

In Chokwe the prefixing of *hi* to the present perfect gives a greater degree of completeness to the past action, conveying the sense of " already done ". In the third persons, where the subject concord is animate, *hi* changes to *ha* before the subject concord. The stative present may also be used with *hi-* in an identical sense, e.g. *Hitunalimi* or *Hitwalima.*

This tense is only found in Chokwe ; the other three languages use the present perfect followed by an adverb to convey this sense.

C. *Distant present perfect :*

In all four languages *-ka-* may be interposed before the verb stem of the present perfect tense to indicate that the action took place at a distance. In Lunda the final vowel remains *i*, but in the other three languages in this tense the final *a* of the verb stem is retained.

Lunda : *Tunakadyimi.* Others : *Tunakalima.*

In Chokwe this tense is specifically used for a past tense of yesterday ; but in the other three languages the sense is merely that of a present perfect at a distance in space or time.

D. Near past tense :

This tense is found in all the four languages. It denotes two distinct conceptions. When the emphasis is upon time, it denotes a past action of some time before, and, particularly in Lunda, Lwena and Luchazi, on the day before. Thus in Lwena *Ngwachilinganga* may mean " I did it earlier to-day," or " I did it yesterday."

When the emphasis is upon condition this tense indicates that an action is completely over. Thus, in Lunda, *Namumoni kwenoku kunaya :* I saw him at the place where I went (because I have come back from that place).

A common form of greeting in Lwena and Luchazi is derived from this tense : *wayanga, unayile*, literally " you went " (but have come back). Thus this tense must be distinguished from a past action on the same day, the effect of which is still present ; in the latter case the present perfect must be used. In Lunda it is probably true to say that this tense can only be used for a past action on the same day, if the effect of the action is fully completed. Otherwise in Lunda it is essentially a past tense of yesterday.

Lunda : *Twadyima*
Chokwe : *Twalimanga*
Lwena : *Twalimanga*
Luchazi : *Tunalimine.*

In Lunda the tense is formed by the infixing of *-a-* between the subject concord and verb stem. In Chokwe and Lwena the formation is similar but *-nga* is suffixed in addition. In Luchazi *-na-* is infixed, and the verb stem drops the final *a* and suffixes the termination of the historic past, the formation of which is described below.

In Chokwe, Lwena and Luchazi *-ka-* may be infixed before the verb stem to indicate distance.

E. Historic past :

This tense is used in all four languages to denote a past action prior to yesterday. In Lwena it may sometimes be used for a past action yesterday. In Chokwe and Lunda never, and in Luchazi rarely so.

Lunda : *Twadyimini*
Chokwe : *Twalimine*
Lwena : *Twalimine*
Luchazi : *Twalimine.*

This tense is formed by interposing *-a-* between the subject concord and the verb stem, and adding a suffix to the verb stem which drops its final *a.*

The formation of the historic suffix is as follows :—

1. The general rule is that the penultimate vowel determines the final suffix form. In Lunda

Chokwe and Lwena, if the penultimate vowel of the verb stem is *a*, *i* or *u*, the suffix is *-ini* or *-ili* (Lunda); *-ine* or *-ile* (Lwena and Chokwe). In Luchazi penultimate *a* takes the suffix *-ele* or *-ene*, otherwise the rule is the same as in Lwena.

If the final consonant in the verb stem is *m* or *n* the suffix is *-ini* or *-ine*. Otherwise the suffix is *-ili* or *-ile*. If the penultimate verb stem vowel is *e* or *o* the suffix will be *-eni* or *-eli* (Lunda), *-ene* or *-ele* (Lwena, Luchazi, Chokwe).

2. In Chokwe the penultimate consonant and not merely the final one controls the suffix form: a nasal consonant penultimate in the stem requires the *-ine* or *-ene* suffixes, e.g. *kusoneka* (to write) becomes *twasonekene*.

3. Verb stems of more than two syllables, and ending in *-ula*, change to *-wili* (Lunda) or *-wile*: similarly if ending in *-una*, they change to *-wini* or *-wine*.

4. Verb stems of more than two syllables and ending in *-ona* change to *-weni* (Lunda) or *-wene*; similarly if ending in *-ola*, they change to *-weli* (Lunda) or *-wele*; according to the preceding rules.

A number of verbs present certain types of irregularities. Of these the following are the most important types:—

(a) Monosyllabic verb stems sometimes combine their final *a* with the initial *i* of the suffix to form a long *e*, e.g. *kuta* (Lwena) becomes *-tele*.

The same may occur in disyllabic verb stems:

hia (give) in Luchazi forms *-hele*
but *hia* (be cooked) forms *-hile*.

(b) The verb stem may contract with the suffix e.g.

kumona (Lunda)	forms	*-mweni*
kukala (Luchazi)	,,	*-kele*
kwaha (Chokwe)	,,	*-hele*
kwimana (Lunda)	,,	*-meni*.

The tendency to contract is most common in Lunda, where several stems common to all four languages contract though they do not do so in the other three (e.g. *kuwana*, *kutwala*).

Reference has already been made under the present perfect to consonantal changes before the vowel *i* in Lwena and Chokwe, which apply here also.

In all four languages *-ka-* may be interfixed before the verb stem to indicate distance in space or time.

F. Habitual historic past:

In Lunda and Lwena the suffixes *-eŋa* and *-ŋga* respectively may be used to indicate that a past act was continuous and habitual. In Lunda the final *i* of the verb termination is dropped before this suffix. In Luchazi the same form is achieved by the infix *-aku-* between the subject concord and the verb stem, the *a* of the infix having a high tone upon it. In Chokwe this sense can only be indicated by a periphrasis.

Lunda: *Twadyimineŋa*
Chokwe: *Twapwile nikulima-lima*
Lwena: *Twalimineŋga*
Luchazi: *Twakulima.*

G. Past in continuous narrative:

In Chokwe a verb tense exists which denotes past action in sequence in continuous narrative. This tense is formed from the verb stem and subject concord to which is prefixed *yi-*. When the subject is animate, singular or plural, in the third person, the prefix combines with the subject concord to form *ya-*; e.g. *Yituliŋga.*

In Lunda the verb stem and the subject concord are used to form a similar tense, which is identical in form with one described under the participial mood. This tense is apparently not found in either Lwena or Luchazi.

H. Past in continuous narrative—Idiomatic use of immediate near future:

When a sequence of past actions is being narrated, in all four languages, it is usual to use the immediate near future to describe these actions. This construction is best regarded as a vivid form of reconstruction, in which the speaker is recapitulating the entire sequence of actions, and each successive act is visualised as being future to the last one. An alternative explanation might be advanced that this was in fact a narrative past tense analogous to the last, and similar in form to the immediate near future; but I believe that to regard it purely as a vivid construction is the better view.

I. Imperfect past tenses :

These are almost entirely formed by using the verb " to be," and follow the main division in time of the preceding past tenses.

(a) *Imperfect past corresponding to present perfect :*

Lunda : *Tunadyimeŋa*
Chokwe : *Tunapu nikulima*
Lwena : *Tunalimiŋga* or *Tunapuŋga nakulima*
Luchazi : *Tunakulima.*

The sense here is " we have been cultivating ". In Lunda and Lwena the present perfect is the basis, dropping the final *i* and suffixing *-eŋa* in Lunda; and suffixing *-ŋga* in Lwena. In Luchazi *-naku-* is interposed between the subject concord and the verb stem. In Chokwe the perfect of the verb *kupwa*, " to be," may be joined to the infinitive of the main verb by the conjuntive formative to produce this tense, and a similar construction is also found in Lwena as an alternative.

(b) *Imperfect past corresponding to near past :*

Lunda : *Twadyiŋi nakudyima*
Chokwe : *Twapwaŋga nikulima*
Lwena : *Twapwaŋga nakulima*
Luchazi : *Tunakele nakulima.*

In all four languages formed from the near past of the verb " to be " as auxiliary, with conjunctive formative and infinitive. The sense here is " we were cultivating."

(c) *Imperfect past corresponding to historic past:*

Lunda : *Twadyiŋili nakudyima*
Chokwe : *Twapwile nikulima*
Lwena : *Twapwile nakulima*
Luchazi : *Twakele nakulima.*

The formation is the same as the preceding, except that the auxiliary is in the historic past. The sense is " we used to cultivate ".

(d) *Habitual imperfect :*

In Lunda the infinitive of the main verb may suffix *-ŋa*, and in Lwena the historic tense of the verb to be or the infinitive may suffix *-ŋga* to denote the sense of " We always used to do " ; e.g. *Twapwile nakulimaŋga.* In Chokwe and Luchazi this sense may be conveyed by reduplicating the stem of the main verb, e.g. *Twapwile nikulima-lima.*

FUTURE TENSES :

The future tenses are divided into a group of forms distinguished by the nearness or remoteness of the futurity. In Lwena and Luchazi these differences are mainly relative, but in Chokwe and Lunda there is also a more exact time division as described below.

A. Simple near future :

Lunda : *Tukudyima*
Chokwe : *Mutulima*
Lwena : *Natulima*
Luchazi : *Tukulima*, *Tulikulima.*

This tense denotes near futurity, as distinct from more distant futurity. In addition in Chokwe and Lunda, when the time of the act is accurately known, this tense is used to denote a future act on the same day, as distinct from the following days ; e.g. Lunda : *Neyi tukumumona, tukumwinkachu* (If we see him, we will give it to him).

In Lunda and Luchazi this tense is formed from the subject concord and the verb stem with the formative *-ku-* infixed. In Chokwe and Lwena the tense is formed from the subject concord and verb stem with the future formative prefixed to the subject concord. This formative is *na-* in Lwena, *mu-* in Chokwe. In Lwena, in the third person singular where the subject is animate, the formative used is *mu-* and not *na-*, e.g. *mwalima* (he will cultivate). In the third person singular in Chokwe, where the subject is animate, the formative *mu-* loses its vowel before the *a* of the subject concord and becomes *malima.* In Chokwe, in verbs whose stem commences in a vowel, in the second person singular, the prefixed *mu-* does not coalesce, e.g. *kwamba* (to say) forms *muwamba* (you will say), and not *mwamba.* In Luchazi an alternative form is common with the infix *liku-* instead of *ku-*.

B. Immediate near future :

This tense resembles the preceding in formation but prefixes the formative *hi-* or *ha-*. It denotes a future action which is just about to take place.

Lunda : *Hitukudyima*
Chokwe : *Himutulima*
Lwena : *Hinatulima*
Luchazi : *Hatukulima.*

In Lunda, in the third person singular when the subject is animate, the *hi-* coalesces with the *a* of the subject concord to become *ha-*, e.g. *hakuya* (he is just going). This coalescence does not occur however in the third person plural where a semi-vowel is interposed, e.g. *hiyakuya* (they are just going). In Luchazi, in the third person singular and plural, where there is an animate subject, *-li-* is interposed between the subject concord and the *-ku-* formative, e.g. *halikuya*, *havalikuya*. For the idiomatic use of this tense to denote past time, see above.

C. Intermediate near future :

In Chokwe the simple near future is found with *ku-* prefixed to it. This tense indicates that a future act will take place very soon, but not that it is just about to be done as is indicated by the immediate near future ; e.g. *Kulihi ali mukwetu ?* (Where is my friend ?) *Kumeza* (He will be coming in a few minutes). In some instances this tense is also used in Chokwe with an indefinite near futurity. The prefixed *ku-* might at first appear to be a locative and not a tense formative, but this does not appear to be likely either here or in other Chokwe tenses where it is used. There is no other evidence for a locative used as a prefix instead of as a suffix to a verb in this group of languages and moreover the locative suffix is *-ko* and not *-ku* in Chokwe.

In addition, in Lunda the intermediate near futurity of this tense is paralelled by a compound tense formed from the stem *keŋa* (*kukeŋa*, to want, intend) followed by the subjunctive. e.g. *Keŋa enzi* (He will be coming, he is soon to come).

D. Remote Future :

Distance in space or time in futurity is denoted by the formative *-ka-* or *-aka-*, which in Lunda and Luchazi replaces the *-ku-* of the near future, and in Lwena and Chokwe is interposed between the subject concord and the verb stem. Ali use *-ka-* except Lunda which uses *-aka- ;* however in the Lunda spoken east of the Lunga river the infix *-aka-* is commonly found.

Lunda : *Twakadyima*
Chokwe : *Mutukalima*
Lwena : *Natukalima*
Lwena : *Natukalima*
Luchazi : *Tukalima, Tulikalima.*

In Lunda and Chokwe this tense is never used for a future act on the same day as the speaker is speaking, but in Lwena and Luchazi it may be so used if the act is e.g. to be performed at a distance. Chokwe : *Mutupomba hano, mba hamene mutukaya* (We will sleep here, and then go on tomorrow).

An alternative form in Luchazi is formed with the infix *-lika-*.

E. Very remote futurity :

In Chokwe and Lwena, very remote futurity may be indicated by the use of the verb *kwiza* as an auxiliary. The future tense so formed often involves a sense of probability rather than certainty ; at other times it contains an element of distant but inevitable nemesis. Both these opposite connotations appear to derive from the common factor of remoteness. The tense is formed by the future of *kwiza* followed by the infinitive of the main verb ; e.g. *Mutwiza kulima* (Chokwe) ; *Natwiza kulima* (Lwena).

Greater remoteness may be indicated by substituting *-ka-* for *-ku-*, e.g. *Natwiza kalima.*

In Lunda the same effect is gained by using the future of the auxiliaries *kwanda* and *kwamba.* Here it would appear that *kwanda* often indicates a greater degree of probability or certainty, whilst *kwamba* often indicates mere supposition or forlorn likelihood. *Kwanda* and *kwiza* are similarly often used in the sense of " lest."

Twanda kamona (We shall see in due course)
Namba kukwinka (I will give you some day).

The substitution of *-ka-* for *-ku-* before the verb stem adds to the remoteness, and by using the distant future of the auxiliary the remoteness may be still further emphasised.

In Luchazi distant futurity is indicated by the formative *-kwaku-* with the verb stem, e.g. *Tukwakulima.* An alternative form *-likwaku-*

appears to have an identical sense, e.g. *Tulikwakulima.*

A further distant future in Luchazi is formed with the additional auxiliary *kwana* in addition to *-kwaku-*, interposed between the *kwa* and the *ku*, e.g. *Tukwakwanakuya* (We shall eventually be going—to various places).

In this last case, there is an added idea that the future act, when it eventually takes effect, will be protracted for some time ; e.g. *Hanjikuya, njikwakwiza nawa ŋgonde yikwizako* (Luchazi): I am just going : I will eventually return next month.

This gives an illustration of three distinct futurities. The first is self explanatory ; the second is remote in time and perhaps not fully ascertained ; the third is future but near, since it it is " next month " i.e. near where the sequence of months is concerned. It will be noted that very remote futurity in all four languages is only indicated by the use of auxiliaries.

F. Continuous future :

In Lunda the suffix *-ŋa* and in Lwena *-ŋga* may be added to the simple near future or to the remote future to produce a future tense which denotes that the future action is to be continued or made habitual ; e.g. *Tukudyimaŋa, Natukalimaŋga.*

This tense may be formed in Chokwe by doubling the main verb. In Luchazi it appears to have no counterpart, an adverbial phrase having to be employed.

Thus apart from the continuous futures which refer to mode as well as time, there are five degrees of futurity, of which four are common to all the languages under discussion, whilst the fifth occurs only in Lunda and Chokwe.

PRINCIPAL POSITIVE PROGRESSIVE TENSES :

These tenses, which indicate that an action is in the midst of taking place, are formed with the infix *-chi-*.

(a) *Present progressive :*

Lunda : *Tuchidyi nakudyima.*
Chokwe : *Tuchili nikulima*
Lwena : *Tuchili nakulima*
Luchazi : *Tuchili kulima, Tuchili nakulima, Tuchili mukulima.*

The sense conveyed here is " we are still cultivating ". In every case the construction is that of the continuing present tense with the infixed *-chi-*.

(b) *Past tenses :*

A past progressive is usually formed by a vivid periphrasis, but in a few cases a past tense may be used with the infix *-chi-*. This occurs in Lunda and Luchazi.

Twachidyiŋi nakuwela : We were still bathing (Lunda)

Twachikele nakulya : We were still eating (Luchazi).

The periphrastic construction, which seems much the commonest is formed by the past tense of the verb " to be " followed by the present progressive tense,

e.g. *Twadyiŋi tuchidyi nakulanda :* We were still buying (Lunda)

Twapwile tuchili nakulima : We were still cultivating (Lwena).

The progressive tenses do not exist in any future forms.

THE PARTICIPIAL SUB-MOOD :

Tenses in the participial mood are for the most part very similar in form to indicative tenses but distinguished as a rule by certain of the subject concords being different, and by their having a specific restricted application. Three main groups of participial tenses can be distinguished in the languages under discussion.

A. Tenses in relative clauses :

Lunda : Where the subject of the main clause and of the relative clause are identical and there is therefore no objectival relative concord to introduce the relative clause, the verb in the relative clause is identical in form with the indicative tenses, but differs in tone by reason of the subject concord being high in tone.

Where the relative clause is introduced by an objectival relative concord referring to the subject of the main phrase, a relative conjugation of the verb is used in the relative clause. This conjugation is used also in certain temporal clauses intro-

duced by e.g. *chi*, *saya* and *chochu*. The relative conjugation of the verb in these clauses is identical with the indicative except for two modifications :

(a) In the third person singular, where the subject concord of the relative clause is animate, it is *a-* and not *u-*. The verb stem then usually suffixes a pronominal suffix *-yi*, whilst the relative concord coalesces with the subject concord, e.g. *yuma yahosheliyi* (the things he said).

(b) In the third person plural, where the subject concord is animate it remains *a*, but the relative concord may or may not coalesce with it. Where there is no coalescence, a semi-vowel *y* is interposed. The verb in the relative clause then suffixes as a rule a pronominal suffix *-wu*, e.g. *matala yanamonuwu* (the houses which they saw).

In this construction it will be noted that the present perfect third person singular animate, which in the indicative has no subject concord in *a* or *u*, in the relative conjugation has a subject concord in *a*. Where the verb tense ends in *i* in the indicative, i.e. present perfect and historic past, the final *i* may often be changed to *u* before the suffix *-wu*.

The tone in the relative conjugation is high on the subject concords of all verbs, as noted above for the indicative in relative clauses. Certain other features of these clauses require discussion in more detail, since the writer finds himself in disagreement with several details of the exposition recently given by W. and M. Fisher in their *Lunda Handbook*. The most important of these differences is their statement that " When the subjectival concord of the relative clause is in the third person and is personal or animate, it is moved to the end of the verb taking the form *yi* in the singular and *wu* in the plural and the relative concord becomes open." Objections to this statement are :—

(1) Treating *yi* and *wu* as subject concords : the writer knows of no case where subject concords are suffixed to the end of a verb, nor can he accept this explanation as logical since the suffixes in question appear to have a definite demonstrative sense and are comparable to the use of the absolute pronouns in such relative clauses immediately after the verb, to emphasise the subject of the relative clause, because it has been introduced by a word denoting the object of it.

(2) The statement that the relative concord becomes open in such clauses means, in the Fishers' terminology, that it is formed with *a* and not *i* or *u* : in other words the vowel *a* in these instances is not due to the subject concord of the verb, but is purely part of the relative concord. Against this we must set the comparative data of the other three languages, which show us that the animate subject concord in relative clauses is always *a*, so that we should expect *a* there in Lunda also. Moreover the tone remains high on the *a* in these instances, whereas the tone is low on the true relative concords ; when a low toned vowel is immediately followed by a high toned vowel in Lunda and coalescence occurs, the resulting vowel is always high toned. Finally, the pronominal suffixes *yi* and *wu* are sometimes omitted, and if these suffixes represent subject concords, one would have the curious position of a verb with no subject concord.

(3) Finally the situation when a relative clause introduced by a relative concord has an inanimate subject : according to the Fishers, the pronominal concord of the inanimate noun is suffixed to the relative verb. In the writer's experience this is not so ; the rules for inanimate subjects in relative clauses of this type are : (a) Where the relative conjugation is used in temporal clauses, the normal subject concords of inanimates are used ; e.g. *chi waholokeli mutondu* (when the tree fell). (b) Where the relative conjugation is used after a true relative objectival concord ; in the rare event of an inanimate noun being the subject of the verb in the relative clause, it is personified and the animate concords are used ; e.g. *muntu walemekeliyi chiteli chindyi* (a man who was injured by his load).

Of the two examples quoted by the Fishers, one can be explained by this interpretation. The other one, *nyikabu yasonawu mutondu* (the fruits which the tree bore), *wu* being a pronominal concord of *mutondu* is a construction which I have no record of, whereas the personification of inanimate subjects of relative clauses of this type is common at Balovale.

Chokwe : The relative conjugation is used in all relative-clauses introduced by a demonstrative whether it represents the subject or the object of the relative clause ; it is also used wherever an interrogative of any sort precedes a verb in a question ; it is used whenever there is inversion, i.e. a noun or pronoun which is the object of a verb preceding its verb. This is a common idiom in Chokwe. Finally it is used in causal or temporal clauses after certain conjunctions.

The relative conjugation of the verb in Chokwe is identical with that of the indicative, except that wherever the indicative tenses in the third person singular or plural use the animate subject concord *ka-*, the relative tenses in these cases use the subject concord *a-*. Exceptions are the future tenses, which remain unchanged, and the past in continuous narrative, which retains the subject concord *ya-*. The subject concord in all uses of the relative conjugation is high toned ; e.g.

Kulihi anayi ? Where has he gone ?

Kanayi kuchihunda : He has gone to his village.

Maliji waze ahanjikile : The words which he spoke.

Lwena : In clauses introduced by the far demonstrative, used as a relative pronoun, whether the subject of the main verb and the verb in the relative clause is identical, or whether the demonstrative represents the object of the relative clause, the verb in the relative clause is identical with the indicative mood in form, but differs in having a high tone on the subject concord.

In former times a relative concord like that found in Lunda evidently existed in Lwena, but to-day it has left its traces in only two cases :

(a) An archaism preserved in a few proverbs, e.g. *Vyaswekele mavu Kalunga mwakavisolola* (What is hidden by the earth God will one day reveal).

(b) In general use after the locatives *ha*, *ku*, and *mu*, e.g. *Kuze kwanayi* (The place to which he has gone) ; *Muze mwanambe* (According to what he said).

In these two cases a true relative conjugation is used, identical in form with the indicative, except that the present perfect has an animate subject concord in *a*, whereas in the indicative in this tense the *a* of the subject concord is lost.

The only true use of this tense with the locatives in Lwena is after the simple locatives ; occasionally it will be heard after the forms *omu*, *oku*, but this appears to be due to Mbunda or Luchazi influence, and is rejected by careful speakers.

Luchazi : A relative concord occurs, similar to that found in Lunda, and is followed by a relative conjugation identical with the indicative, except that the third person singular animate concord is *a-* instead of *u-*, which is used in some indicative tenses. This conjugation is also used after locatives and certain conjunctions. The subject concord of the verb in the relative conjugation is high. Unlike Lunda there is no pronominal suffix in the third person.

e.g. *Watuŋgile zindzivo zyaziŋgi :* He built many houses (indicative)

Zindzivo zyatuŋgile ikeye : The houses which he built (relative).

In relative clauses, where the subject of the main verb and the of relative clause are identical and there is no relative concord, the tone of the subject concord of the relative clause verb is high, but the verb is identical with the indicative in structure.

B. Participial tenses with the infix -chi- :

These tenses are mostly confined to Luchazi and Chokwe ; a trace of them exists in Lwena, but they are absent from Lunda.

Luchazi : The following tenses occur identical with the indicative in form, except for the infix.

Present perfect : *Tunachilimi* or *Tuchinalimi*. In the third person singular with an animate subject concord the form is *nachilimi* in either case.

Historic past : *Twachilimine*.

Near past : *Tunachilimine* or *Tuchinalimine*. In the third person singular with an animate subject concord the form is *nachilimine* in either case.

Stative present : *Twachilima*.

Near future : *Tukuchilima* or *Tuchikulima*.

Remote future : *Tuchikalima* or *Twachikalima*. In the latter case it will be noted that an *a* has also been infixed before *-chi-*.

The significance of this tense is to denote an act which preceded or will precede another act.

e.g. *Njichikutala mundzivo, amba njikumusana* (First I will look in the house, then I will call him).

Njachiyile kuManyiŋga, kaha njavawanene (First I went to the Manyinga, then I found them).

Chokwe : The situation closely resembles Luchazi, the following tenses occurring :

Present perfect : *Tunachilimi*
Near past : *Twachilimaŋga*
Historic past : *Twachilimine*
Stative present : *Twachilima*
Near future : *Mutuchilima*
Distant future : *Mutukachilima.*

The usages are similar to those described under Luchazi.

Lwena : See below under the subjunctive mood.

C. Simple timeless participial tense :

This tense occurs in all four languages formed by the subject concord followed by the verb stem.

Lunda : *Tudyima*
Chokwe : *Tulima*
Lwena : *Tulima*
Luchazi : *Tulima.*

Its main uses are as follows :

Lunda :

(a) As a negative imperative :
Bayi uhoshaku (Do not speak).

(b) In the protasis of certain conditionals :
Uya mwisaŋa, ukuwana nkayi (If you go in the bush, you find a duiker).

(c) In a series of imperatives :
Uya kumukala, utonda Chipoya, umunenta kunu. (Go to the village, look for Chipoya and bring him here).

(d) As a past tense in continuous narrative (see under past tenses).

(e) With the verb *kwenda* in the same tense to express continuing action as a statement or an imperative :

Nvula yenda yinoka (The rain keeps falling).
Mwenda mukalakala (You must keep working hard).

Chokwe :

(a) As a negative imperative :
Kanda uya (Don't go).

(b) As a negative exclusive :
Kanda eza (He has not yet come).

Lwena :

(a) As a negative imperative, as in Chokwe, but with *-ko* suffixed.

Luchazi :

(a) With a vague future sense in the protasis of conditionals and interrogatives :
Njimuleka ni vati ? (Am I to tell him ?)

(b) As a negative exclusive, exactly as in Chokwe.

In Luchazi and Chokwe in negative exclusive clauses this tense is commonly found with the infix *-chi-*.

e.g. *Kanda vachiza* (They have not yet come) (Luchazi)

Kafwile kanda achimanuna mukanda wenyi He died before he had finished his book) (Chokwe).

POTENTIAL AND CONDITIONAL MOOD :

There is virtually no trace of any special potential or conditional tenses in this group of languages, the only exception being found in Lunda.

In Lunda where there is an unfulfilled or hypothetical conditional construction relating to near past time, the tense in the protasis is formed by using the subjunctive of the verb " to be " as an auxiliary, followed by the main verb :

e.g. *Etu twabula kumwihula yemweni, mutenowu wadyi kutuleja chiwahi.* We omitted to ask him himself, (if we had) he would have explained to us fully.

This usage is really a near past construction, though it may be found in sentences which look at first sight to have a future reference :

e.g. *Hinsefu ; asi nadyiŋi nawuta, asi nadyi kumuloza.* It is an eland : if I had a gun, I would shoot it. (lit : if I was with a gun, I would have shot it).

In an unfulfilled conditional in Lunda, where the reference is to the distant past, the historic past tenses are used :

e.g. *Asi aLwena atwesheli, asi ayijilumwini wejima wawu.* If the Lwena had been able, they would have annihilated them all.

The potential element in this sentence is supplied not by the verb tense form, but by the form of the conjunction repeated before both apodosis and protasis.

In the other three languages under discussion there is no conditional tense, and the conditional conjunctions supply the necessary potential or conditional element:

e.g. Lwena: *Kachi ŋgwapwaŋgako, kachi ŋgwamuvetaŋga.* If I had been there, I would have hit him.

Luchazi: *Meŋga vamuhele vihemba, kantsa katsile.* If they had given him medicine, he would not have died.

In such sentences a conditional conjunction is repeated before each clause of the conditional sentence:

e.g. *Kachi . . . . . kachi,* and *meŋga . . . . . kantsa,* in the two examples quoted above.

Apart from the uses illustrated above in true conditional clauses, the contingent mood in Lunda is used in some cases with the sense of "ought".

e.g. *Wadyi kuya kuchipatela.* You ought to go to hospital.

Nadyi kuya swayi. I ought to go soon.

THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD:

A. Simple subjunctive:

This occurs in all the four languages. It is formed from the subject concord and the verb stem. In Lunda the verb stem drops its final *a*, and suffixes *i*. In the other three, the final *a* of the verb stem is replaced by *e*.

Lunda: *Tudyimi*
Chokwe: *Tulime*
Lwena: *Tulime*
Luchazi: *Tulime.*

In reduplicated stems, only the final *a* is changed in a monosyllabic verb stem, but in disyllabic or polysyllabic stems each repetition of the stem changes the final *a*; e.g. *Akeŋi-keŋi* (They must look for).

B. Remote subjunctive:

In all four languages this is used to indicate distance in space or time where the simple subjunctive is insufficient for this purpose. Lwena, Luchazi and Chokwe infix *-ka-* between the subject concord and the stem. Lunda normally infixes *-aka-*, but may infix *-ka-*, especially east of the Lunga river.

Lunda: *Twakadyimi*
Chokwe: *Tukalime*
Lwena: *Tukalime*
Luchazi: *Tukalime.*

C. Subjunctive habitual or continuous:

Both the preceding tenses in Lunda and Lwena may take a suffix to indicate the habitual or continuing nature of the act. In Lunda the final *i* is dropped from the subjunctive and *-eŋa* suffixed: in Lwena *-ŋga* is suffixed.

In Lwena the *-ŋga* suffix in the subjunctive appears to have lost much of its continuous force, for where the verb stem is monosyllabic it is always found suffixed to the subjunctive, irrespective of any continuous significance, and it is also used with the subjunctive of *kwiza* in the same way. This applies to some extent to Lunda also.

The main uses of the subjunctive in these languages are:—

(1) After certain conjunctions to indicate purpose or consecutive actions: *Naŋguya maŋgana ŋgukamone mukwetu* (Lwena): I will go so that I may see my friend.

(2) As an imperative, if in the 2nd person, of a mild concessive type: *Wili chejima chinukukulweja* (Lunda): Do everything which I tell you.

(3) In permissive interrogation: *Njiye ni?* (Luchazi): May I go?

(4) In negative exclusive clauses after the conjunction meaning "not yet". This is only found in Lunda and Lwena. In Luchazi the simple participial tense is used in these clauses, but the subjunctive may be used in the sense of "never yet, never before". *Kanda njivimone:* I have never seen them before.

(5) In prohibitions in Luchazi, after the con-

junction *kati* : the other languages use the simple participial or future indicative tenses here.

D. Other aspects of the subjunctive :

(1) With the infix *-chi-* : The occurrence of this infix in Chokwe and Luchazi, to form a type of participial sub-mood, has been described. In Luchazi, Chokwe and Lwena this infix may also be used with the subjunctive. This usage with the subjunctive is its only occurrence in Lwena. The sense of this construction appears commonly to imply one act preceding another as already described under the participial tenses above.

e.g. *Dguchitale muzuwo :* First let me go and look in the house (Chokwe).

Manjichitale : Wait whilst I look (Luchazi).

In some instances, particularly in Lwena, however, this sense is not very marked, and the only sense appears to be a rather polite imperative. It may be noted that *achi* is used in Chokwe and Lwena with the sense of please, e.g. *Achi mana :* Please stop a moment. Possibly the underlying idea in this imperative is closely associated with the use of *-chi-* as an infix in the subjunctive.

(2) Subjunctive with infixes in Luchazi :

The infixes *-aku-* and *-anaku-* are found with the subjunctive in Luchazi in the sense of " go and do " : e.g. *Twakulime*, *Twanakulime*.

These should be compared with the form *wakwanakwende*, discussed above under the uses of abbreviated auxiliaries in Luchazi. It is apparent that in these subjunctival uses the auxiliary *kuya* in its abbreviated forms has become a verbal formative morphologically, although it still retains its auxiliary sense in the meaning conveyed.

(3) Use in Luchazi of the present perfect stem with the prefix *ha-* to form an imperative :

In this tense the present perfect verb stem, minus the formative *-na-*, is used ; the final vowel follows the same modifications as occur with the present perfect. The infix *-ka-* may also be used to indicate remoteness. This tense is most usually found in the second person singular or plural : e.g. *Haumono* (see !) *Hauliŋgi* (do !) *Hauleka* (tell !).

The use of the prefix *ha-* in these constructions should be compared with its use with the two aberrant imperatives in Luchazi, *hamoye* and *hamenu* described above.

The writer does not think that these usages, here associated with the subjunctive, have necessarily found their final resting place. Further research into othe rallied languages may illuminate their true status and call for a rearrangement ; but at the moment this seems a convenient place for their discussion.

THE NEGATIVE

A. PRINCIPAL INDICATIVE TENSES —SIMPLE :

Present tenses :

Lunda *:* There is no special negative conjugation of the verb, and all verb tenses are negatived by prefixing *hi-* to the subject concord and suffixing *-ku* to the verb or at the end of the phrase, if the verb does not end the phrase.

All the present tenses described in Lunda may be so negatived.

Habitual present : *Hitwadyimaŋaku*
Continuing present : *Hitudyi nakudyimaku*
Habitual continuing present : *Hitudyi nakudyimaŋaku*
Stative present : *Hitwadyimaku.*

Chokwe *:* Most verb tenses use the prefix *ka-* to form a distinct negative conjugation ; one may use the Lunda prefix and suffix, *hi . . : . . . ko.*

(a) *Habitual present :* This is formed by using the defective verb *-ishi* as an auxiliary, followed by the infinitive of the main verb ; e.g. *Kutushi kulima.*

(b) *Continuing present :* This may be formed with the negative *hi . . . ko*, or the past negative may be used e.g. *Hituli nikulimako.*

(c) *Habitual continuing present :* See under (b).

(d) *Stative present :* This is negatived by the past negative described below ; e.g. *Kutwapombele.*

Lwena :

(a) In the habitual present the near future negative tense is used, and the suffix *-ŋga* may be added to the verb termination to denote that the

action is habitual. The future negative construction is described below.

e.g. *Katweshi kulimaŋgako.*

(b) The continuing present and habitual continuing present tenses are also negatived by the future negative construction, but the conjunctive formative precedes the infinitive.

e.g. *Katweshi nakulimako* or *Katweshi nakulimaŋgako.*

(c) The stative present is negatived by prefixing *ka-* and suffixing *-ko ;* e.g. *Katwasavalako.*

Luchazi :

(a) The habitual present is negatived by prefixing *ka- ;* e.g. *Katwe kulima.*

(b) The continuing present is negatived by *ka-* and the auxiliary defective verb *-esi* followed by the infinitive of the main verb ; e.g. *Katwesi kulima, Katwesi nakulima.*

(c) The stative present may be negatived by prefixing *ka-*, or the general past negative may be used ; *e.g. Katwakosa* or *Katwakosele.*

Past tenses :

Lunda *:* The past tenses here are all negatived by prefixing *hi-* and suffixing *-ku* as described under the present tenses. In tenses where the final vowel is *i* and *-ku* is suffixed to it, the *i* may often be attracted by the final *u* of *ku* and become *u*, but this is not invariable. The negative past tenses in Lunda are :—

Present perfect :	*Hitunadyimuku*
Distant present perfect :	*Hitunakadyimuku*
Near past :	*Hitwadyimaku*
Historic past :	*Hitwadyiminuku*
Habitual historic past :	*Hitwadyimineŋaku*
Imperfect present perfect :	*Hitunadyimeŋaku*
Imperfect near past :	*Hitwadyiŋi nakudyimaku*
Imperfect historic past :	*Hitwadyiŋili nakudyimaku*
Habitual imperfect, near past :	*Hitwadyiŋi nakudyimaŋaku*
Habitual imperfect historic past :	*Hitwadyiŋili nakudyimaŋaku.*

Chokwe *:* All past tenses are normally negatived by a single past negative conjugation which is identical with the historic past tense in form, but negatived by the prefix *ku-*. In the third person singular or plural, where the subject concord is animate, the subject concord drops its initial consonant *k*, and coalescence with the negative to form *ka-* takes place. Hence *kalimine* may be historic past positive, or the negative past conjugation and may mean either " He or they cultivated," or alternatively " He or they have not or did not cultivate ". Confusion is obviated by a distinct tonal difference, since the first and the penultimate syllables have a high tone in the negative tense.

In the first person singular, the negative combines with the subject concord to form *cha- :* in all other cases the negative is *ku-* except in the third person singular and plural, where the subject takes animate concords ; the negative is then *ka-*.

As noted above, this tense is used for all negative past actions, and the imperfect tenses are negatived in a similar way, by negativing the verb " to be " used as an auxiliary ; e.g. *Kutwalimine* (general past negative) ; *Kutwapwile nikulima* (imperfect negative).

Lwena : The negative past tense is a single tense formed from the historic past, by prefixing to it *ka-* and suffixing to it *-ko*. The near past tense may be negatived by the same construction, but the general past negative is more generally used. The imperfect tenses are negatived in the same way as described under Chokwe :

Katwalimineko : General past negative

Katwalimaŋgako : Past of yesterday negative

Katwalimineŋgako : Habitual historic past negative

Katwapwaŋga nakulimako : Imperfect present past negative

Katwapwile nakulimako : Imperfect past negative

Katwapwaŋga nakulimaŋgako : Imperfect present past habitual negative.

Katwapwile nakulimangako : Imperfect past habitual negative.

Luchazi : The negative *ka-* prefixed to the

historic past tense is the usual form of negative for all past tenses ; e.g. *Katwalimine.*

The compound tenses with *-naku-* and *-nakwa-naku-* may be negatived in the same way : *Katwa-nakulimine.*

The imperfect negative is similarly formed by negativing the auxiliary verb " to be ", e.g. *Katwakele nakulima.*

Future tenses :

Lunda *:* Future tenses are negatived in the manner already described for all Lunda indicative tenses, viz :

Simple near future :	*Hitukudyimaku*
Remote future :	*Hitwakadyimaku*
Very remote future :	*Hitwamba kumonako*
	Hitwamba kamonako
Continuous future :	*Hitukudyimaŋaku.*

Chokwe : The auxiliary defective verb *ichi* is used, followed by the infinitive of the main verb, to form a distinct future negative conjugation. In the first person singular the negative and the subject concord form a single concord *chi- :* in the third person singular and plural, where the subject concord is animate, the negative and the subject concord coalesce to form *ke-*. Otherwise the negative is *ku-*. e.g. *Kutuchi kulima* (We shall not cultivate).

A remote future negative is formed by changing the *ku-* of the infinitive to *ka-*, e.g. *Kutuchi kalima.*

Lwena : The auxiliary defective verb *-eshi* is used followed by the infinitive of the main verb. *Ka-* is prefixed to the subject concord and *-ko* suffixed to the verb or phrase. A remote form of this future conjugation is formed by changing the *ku-* of the infinitive to *ka-*. As already noted, the same form of the near future negative is also used as a habitual present negative in Lwena ; e.g. *Katweshi kulimako ; katweshi kalimako.*

The habitual future forms are identical, save that *-ŋga* may be suffixed to the infinitive before the final *-ko : Katweshi kulimaŋgako.*

Luchazi *:* The normal positive futures in Luchazi are merely negatived by prefixing *ka-*. The following tenses are so negatived :

Simple near future : *Katukulima* or *Katulikulima*
Remote future : *Katukalima* or *Katulikalima*
Very remote future : *Katukwakulima* or *Katulikwakulima.*

A further future negative conjugation may also be heard in Luchazi. This is formed by the subject concord, infix *-ka-* and the verb stem, with the final vowel modified according to the rules described under the present perfect tense. The negative *ka-* is prefixed to the whole ; e.g. *Katukalimi.*

There is some difference of opinion among Luchazi as to how far this is a normal future negative tense. Many of the Luchazi from Mwangai area in Angola, upon whose language this survey is based, do not recognise this tense which is said to be Nkangala. It is apparently in normal use further south at Muye, where Mbunda and Nkangala influence is strong.

B. PRINCIPAL INDICATIVE TENSES — PROGRESSIVE :

In Lunda these may be negatived in the usual manner by the *hi . . . . . ku* negative.

In Luchazi they may be negatived by the negative *ka-*, or the near future may be used.

In Lwena and Chokwe there is no negative of these tenses, and a periphrasis is used.

PARTICIPIAL SUB-MOOD—NEGATIVE :

A. Tenses in relative clauses :

Lunda : There is no negative conjugation, and the participial tenses in relative and kindred clauses may only be negatived by a periphrastic use of the verb *kubula* (to lack, omit).

Chokwe and **Lwena :** The negative indicative tenses may be used in these clauses to negative their equivalent positive tenses.

Luchazi : In a relative clause, where the verb is negative and there is relative objectival antecedent, a special form of negative pronoun is used, consisting of the positive relative concord with the suffix *-ntsa.* The normal indicative negative tenses are used ; e.g. *Zindzivo zintsa katungile* (the houses which he did not build).

In other clauses, e.g. temporal clauses after *omo* where the relative positive tenses are used, the indicative negative tenses are used.

B. Participial tenses with the infix -chi-, and *C. Simple timeless participial tense.*

There is no negative conjugation to either of these.

POTENTIAL AND CONDITIONAL MOOD :

The conditional tense occurring in Lunda may be negatived in the usual Lunda manner; e.g. *Natonojoki nami hadyi kumulwejaku* (I think that he would not have told him, he is unlikely to have told him).

In Chokwe, Lwena and Luchazi the negative indicative tenses are used in negative conditional clauses. In Luchazi the suffix *-ntsa* is also found with the negative *ka-* prefixed, to form a negative conditional conjunction, followed by a verb in the negative conjugation.

In Luchazi a negative construction exists formed of the negative prefix *ka-*, the subject concord and the verb stem; the verb changes its final vowel according to the rule given under Luchazi for vowel changes in the present perfect.

Kanjiyiko (I would not go there)
Kanjichiliŋgi (I would not do it)
Kanjinumo (I would not drink of it).

This is not a simple present or future negative, it conveys the sense of " If it were I, I would not do so and so."

e.g. *Aŋge kuya mukutuŋga kuze, kanjiyiko* (For me to go and build there, I would not go).
Etu katuchiliŋgi (We would not do a thing like that).

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD :

Three is no negative conjugation of the subjunctive mood; a subjunctive may only be negatived by a periphrasis.

Kulonda abuli kwiya : So that he may not steal (lit. so that he may omit to steal) (Lunda).

Kuchina mwakeza nawa : That he may not come again (lit. for fear that he will come again) (Lwena).

Care must be taken not to confuse a positive subjunctive after *kanda* or *kati* with a negative subjunctive. The negative element here is entirely in the conjunction and the verb remains in its positive form.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE CONJUGATIONS OF THE VERB

Tense	Lunda	Chokwe	Lwena	Luchazi
Indicative mood, positive :				
1. Habitual or customary present	X	X	X	X
2. Continuing present	X	X	X	X
3. Habitual continuing present	X	X	X	X
4. Stative present	X	X	X	X
5. Present perfect	X	X	X	X
6. Completed present perfect		X		
7. Distant present perfect	X	X	X	X
8. Near past	X	X	X	X
9. Historic past	X	X	X	X
10. Habitual historic past	X	X	X	X
11. Past in continuous narrative		X		
12. Imperfect of present time	X	X	X	X
13. Imperfect of near past time	X	X	X	X
13. Imperfect of historic past time	X	X	X	X
14. Imperfect—present habitual	X	X	X	X
14. Imperfect—near past habitual	X	X	X	X
15. Imperfect—historical past habitual	X	X	X	X
16. Simple near future	X	X	X	X
17. Immediate near future	X	X	X	X

Tense	Lunda	Chokwe	Lwena	Luchazi
18. Intermediate near future	X	X		
19. Remote future	X	X	X	X
20. Very remote future	X	X	X	X
21. Continuous or habitual near future	X	X	X	
22. Continuous or habitual remote future	X	X	X	
Progressive tenses, positive :				
1. Present	X	X	X	X
2. Past	X	X	X	X
Participial mood :	X		X	X
1. In relative clauses with form like the indicative but high toned subject concord. All tenses except past in continuous narrative.	X		X	X
2. Relative conjugation of the verb ; all tenses except past in continous narrative.	X	X	X	X
3. Participial tenses with *-chi-* infix. (for tenses occuring see text supra).		X		X
4. Simple timeless participial tense.	X	X	X	X
Potential mood, positive :				
1. Potential tense	X			
Subjunctive mood :				
1. Simple subjunctive	X	X	X	X
2. Remote subjunctive	X	X	X	X
3. Habitual subjunctive	X		X	
4. Aberrant subjunctives (for details see text).		X	X	X

Negative Conjugations :

Lunda : No distinct negative conjugation apart from negative prefix and suffix.
Indicative mood : All positive tenses except the past in continuous narrative.
Progressive tenses : Both tenses.
Participial mood : No negative.
Potential mood : Potential tense.
Subjunctive mood : No negative.

Tense	Chokwe	Lwena	Luchazi
Indicative mood, negative :			
1. Habitual present	X	X	X
2. Continuing present	X	X	X
3. Habitual continuing present	X	X	
4. Stative present		X	X
5. General past and present negative	X	X	X
6. ditto—habitual	X	X	X
7. Near past		X	
8. Imperfect	X	X	X
7. Near Future	X	X	X
8. Remote future	X	X	X
9. Future habitual	X	X	X
10. Very remote			X
11. Additional future negative			X

Progressive tenses :	X
Participial mood :	
1. In relative clauses	(all use indicative negative tenses)
Potential mood :	X
Subjunctive mood :	(no negative conjugation)

Conclusions : In the indicative mood positive the incidence of tenses in the four languages is almost identical. In form Lwena and Chokwe fall into one group and Luchazi and Lunda into another in so far as the future tenses are formed, the two former being formed with a formative prefixed to the subject concord. In the present perfect tense Luchazi, Lwena and Chokwe are distinguished from Lunda by having a modification of the final vowel, controlled by certain definite rules, whereas in Lunda this modification is always from *a* to *i*.

In the participial mood the occurrence of the tenses formed with the interfix *-chi-* is confined to Chokwe and Luchazi. The incidence of the participial conjugation in relative clauses is somewhat variable as between the languages, being almost obsolete in Lwena, but most highly developed in Chokwe.

A potential tense is confined to Lunda.

The subjunctive mood calls for little comment apart from the occurrence of certain aberrant subjunctive forms, mainly in Luchazi.

In the negative conjugation Lunda stands apart by having no morphological differences in its negative conjugation, apart from the negative suffix and prefix. The other three languages show a high degree of uniformity in their negative conjugation. The absence of a negative conjugation of the subjunctive is common to all, whilst Luchazi is unique in having a species of negative potential tense with no corresponding positive tense. Luchazi is likewise peculiar in possessing traces of a past infinitive.

On the evidence of the verb structures we may arrange the four languages into three groups, viz.

1. Lunda.

2. Lwena and Chokwe, of which the latter is a more highly specialised language with several peculiarities of its own.

3. Luchazi which, although it shares many features of group 2, resembles group 1 in some respects, e.g. future tense formation, and has a number of peculiarities not found in groups 1 and 2.

SOME RIDDLES OF THE MWERA PEOPLE

(Collected and annotated by the REV. LYNDON HARRIES)

The Mwera language belongs to the East-Central Zone of the Bantu family of languages, and is closely related to Yao. Other languages of the same group are Makonde, Maŵiha, Makua, Matambwe and Ndonde. Mention of the Mwera language is made in Cust's *Modern Languages of Africa* (Vol. 2, p. 342), but, except for a few Mission prayer-books, no work in this language has hitherto been published.

The people of the tribe live to the north of the Makonde in Southern Tanganyika, mostly on the Londo Plateau and on the plain to the west of the plateau, especially in the neighbourhood of Lilulu hill. Mwera speakers probably number between 70,000 and 80,000. Their language, which employs monosyllabic noun-prefixes, is a separate language with dialects of its own, e.g. *ciManiŋga*, *ciMacemba*.

My informant for this collection of a hundred riddles was a boy from the village of Luwega. His speech was remarkably free from the Yao or the Swahili influence to be observed in the speech of many other Mwera speakers. He told me that he could not speak Yao, but that he could understand it a little. The boy had read in a Mission school, but only in the first standard. The fact that he could tell me a hundred riddles apparently without much effort shows that the telling of riddles still plays an important part in Mwera social or family life. He told me that his father and his maternal uncle had taught him many of these riddles.

In Mwera, the poser of the riddle begins by saying *Nda*, and the response is *Ndakacile*. *Nda* is probably a contraction for *Ndaŵi* (a riddle) and *Ndakacile* a contracted form of *Ndaŵi ikaicile* (let the riddle come, lit. reach), or *kandaŵi kaicile* (let the little riddle come).

Except for a few minor differences the classification of Bantu riddles adopted by Dr. Schapera is employed in this collection. I have made notes on the meaning of some of the more difficult riddles and have referred to similar riddles (hitherto unpublished) among the neighbouring Makonde tribe. Other notes deal with grammatical constructions and with the phonetics of the language. The class-numbers of the noun-prefixes are the same as in Meinhof's system of classification of Ur-Bantu for comparative purposes.

NATURAL PHENOMENA

1. Riddle. *Baŋanile ambuje cimaje cina cabika, cina caŋandela.*
   My grandfather forged for me a knife, one for putting by, the other for playing with.

   Answer. *Liunde nalitaka.*
   Heaven and earth.

Notes. *Baŋanile :* the concord (Cl. 2) is the honorific plural: this concord with the bilabial plosive occurs side by side with the concord *ŵa-*, in which the initial sound is pronounced as a bilabial fricative. In Yao the bilabial fricative is invariably employed where in Mwera the pronunciation alternates between bilabial fricative and bilabial plosive, e.g. in Yao, *ŵali* (initiated girl), *-ŵika* (place, put); in Mwera, *ŵali* and *bali*, *-ŵika* and *-bika*. The verb stem is *-yana* (forge iron): nasal influence upon stems commencing in the semi-vowel *y* causes the nasal to become velar and the semi-vowel is absorbed in the nasal.

ambuje, the consonant *j* is a voiced sibilant fricative, the sound of *j* in French "jouer."

cimaje, *c* represents the post-alveolar fricative; it is very weak; it is sometimes difficult to hear the *t*-stop contact, so that the sound is then really a hushing fricative.

liunde, a trisyllabic word, *li-u-nde ;* vowels in juxtaposition in Mwera occur frequently, but such examples as I have heard are of separate syllables, not diphthongs, e.g. *pai*

(beneath), *naino* (now), *-leu* (long), *lio* (eye), *ii pei* (emphatic demonst. Cl. 2).

2. R. *Naliŵiga likulu naŋkuŋgu ŋkulu.*
A big cooking-pot and a big basin.
A. *Liunde nalitaka.*
Heaven and earth.

Notes. The cooking-pot is the round sky and the saucer-shaped basin the earth.

Note the use of the conjunctive formative before both nouns. The adjective in both cases takes only the single concord in agreement with the preceding noun. In Mwera this concord is alternatively preceded by the possessive concord in adjectival forms; the full forms are: *liŵiga lyalikulu* and *ŋkuŋgu gwaŋkulu*. Cf. in Yao, the similar use of the possessive concord in adjectival forms.

The intermediate lateral *l* in *-kulu* is often elided: this occurs also in verb endings, cf. also in Makonde and Maŵiha. Cf. the Makonde riddle, *Munu kuhana cipula, naŋga kutumila mwene, kumwiŋa citu mwanawe* (A man forges a knife, he does not use it himself, he gives it to his son). The answer in Makonde is, *Nnuŋgu nacilambo* (God and the earth).

3. R. *Dene-ŵali kumcinda kujojelela.*
Owner of the sea, it defeats him to swim.
A. *Ligaŋga.*
A stone.

Notes. *ŋene*, the 3rd. pers. sing. of the quantitative pronoun *-yene*, meaning "self, same."

ŵali, from the Swahili word *bahari*; the verb *-cinda* is probably another borrowing, cf. Swahili, *-shinda* (defeat, conquer). Cf. in Makonde: *Cipila mwene medi, naŋga kuhulula kuwewela* (The sand-piper, the sea-dweller, cannot swim). The answer in Makonde is *liyaŋga* (a stone).

4. R. *Litanda likuluŋgwa likambale limo-pe.*
A big lake, only one barbel.
A. *Mwei.*
The moon.

Notes. The lake is the sky, the barbel the moon. Cf. with this, a similar proverb in Makonde: *Nanilima welu waŋgu, cihici cimo* (I cultivated my field, only one tree stump), to which the answer is: *Inuŋgu* (the navel).

limo-pe, the suffix *-pe* is an intensifier used frequently in both Mwera and Yao, e.g. in Mwera, *Puŵaice jika-pe* (They came quite alone), *ŵalume-pe* (all men); in Yao, *kundaŵi-pe* (very early in the morning), *moŵa gose-pe* (every day, lit. all the days). Cf. the suffix *-ru* in Makua.

5. R. *Tupejile luŵala baice acimakoŋgono-maleu.*
Let us sweep the courtyard, let the long-legged ones come.
A. *Ula.*
Rain.

Notes. *Tupejile*, the verb-stem is *-pejila*, cf. the Bantu *pia-ya*. In Mwera, as in Yao, *g* before *-i-* or *-e-* becomes *j*.

acimakoŋgono-maleu, a qualificative pronoun. The pre-prefix is possessive in significance and does not occur as a nominal prefix in Mwera. Cf. in Makua, *afinamwalia* (Mwalia's people). *Makoŋgolo* (legs), Cl. 6, is a plural of Cl. 11. Cf. the Makua riddle, *Umatani waamanyi ahowaca atu otaliŵaca myeto* (To mother's field have come long-legged people), with the answer; *Ipula* (Rain).

6. R. *Ŵana ŵaNandoka icurupe icurupe.*
The children of Nandoka *icurupe icurupe.*
A. *Liŋgame.*
Dew.

Notes. According to my informant, *icurupe icurupe* is not a normal expression in Mwera speech but is meant to mystify the solver of the riddle. This is a characteristic of Bantu riddles. Cf. the Makonde riddle: *Ukannole gulamu muci mwene gulamu* (If you look at *gulamu* it is like *gulamu* itself), to which the answer is *Liyuwu lyanhyoŋgo* (the skin of a snake). The word *gulamu* has no meaning in Makonde speech. Similarly *Nandoka* cannot be identified. Cf. in Makonde the similar use of unidentifiable names, e.g. *Liciŋga lyaki Ɗgweleni akwela nadiŋombe* (*Ɗgweleni's* hill he climbs with the finger-nails), with the answer *Uwali* (Native porridge): and *Ŵanemba ŵaki Kadembe dikofia weka* (Kadembe's boys with

caps only), to which the answer is: *Dinyo-miŋgo* (African wild-daisies, with buds resembling caps or hats). No one can say who Ngweleni and Kadembe were.

7. R. *Libaŋga lyaNandoka ŋgapita maŵembe.*
Flies do not pass over Nandoka's sore.
A. *Moto.*
Fire.

8. R. *Liŵago licoko lipita ndalala.*
A small axe passes (through) the *ndalala* tree.
A. *Ciwili.*
A shadow.

9. R. *Dkota ntindimbwa ukuŋona nŋelekete.*
A sweet stalk of millet which is sweet, the *nŋelekete* tree.
A. *Lyuŵa.*
The sun.

Notes. *ukuŋona*, relative construction, present tense, cf. *akupeŋge* (he who wants) simple stem is *-ŋona*. The explanation is that the sweet stalks of millet are planted at the same time as ordinary millet, but are harvested before the millet harvest. If the harvest is delayed until the millet harvest, the sweet stalks of millet are no longer sweet to the taste. The sun is pleasant in the morning, but at midday its heat is no longer a desirable thing. The *nŋelekete* tree (plur. *miŋ-*) provides a good shade.

10. R. *Mkoŋgo gwakuMwela akuno kuhwika nyambi.*
A tree at the Mwera country, here reach the branches.
A. *Cipiya.*
Burnt-grass particles or ashes of a burnt tree.

11. R. *Maliŵa gaŋaŋga gayatuka ŋkumbano.*
Traps of the bush go off suddenly together.
A. *Lugono.*
Sleep.

Notes. *ŋkumbano*, this is a quadrisyllabic ideophone for falling down suddenly together; in Yao the ideophone with the same meaning is *malonje*. Initial *ŋ-* in the Mwera ideophone is syllablic, so the division of syllables is *ŋ-ku-mba-no*. Cf. the Makonde riddle: *Ihuti kwomba kuNdonde kuhwilaŋgila hoti mpaka kumaŋga* (To fire a gun in the West, all die as far as the West). The answer: *Luwono* (sleep).

12. R. *Mwakuŋgula mwajanika.*
Wherein he displays, wherein he exposes to the air.
A. *Ndonda.*
The stars.

Notes. A relative construction with locative Cl. 18 concord is employed in both words. The idea is that the sky is the place where God puts out his stars. Cf. *mwapita* (wherein he goes).

Cf. the Makonde riddle: *Uhwu kuyanika lido nelo naŋga kuukodya* (Flour put out to dry yesterday, today it is not to be found). The idea here is that stars are not visible on a cloudy night. The answer in Makonde is: *Dinondwa* (stars).

13. R. *Nnamba tie liwundi bata.*
The glossy starling above, the owl beneath.
A. *Liunde nalitaka.*
Heaven and earth. (Cf. Riddles 1 and 2).

Notes. *tie* and *bata* are ideophones for being high up and being low down respectively. The glossy starling is said to warn other birds of the approach of an enemy in the bush, and for this purpose flies higher on the look-out.

THE VEGETABLE WORLD

14. R. *Kwawona-ŵa buti aŵa.*
Seeing this one like this one.
A. *Linyimbili nangoŵo.*
A plantain and a banana-tree.

Notes. *Buti*, a conjunction formed with the defective verb *-ti*. Occurs also as *mbuti*, e.g. *Acitenda mbuti mwana* (He behaved like a child). Note the use of the honorific plural.

15. R. *Dkunnola-ndi? Niŋkunwile.*
What are you looking at me for? I have hurt you.
A. *Liici.* (pl. *maici*).
Tree stump.

Notes. *Ndi* is an interrogative noun (Cl. 9), employed here as second object of the verb *-lola* (look at, see). This noun may not be used as subject of a sentence, but as object or in inflected forms, e.g. *Kwandi pakuweka?* (Why are they laughing ?), *Pumwabicile pandi ?* (On what did you put it ?) The stress is moved forward to the syllable *-la* in the question in the riddle. Note assimilation: *ni+l>nn*. The second verb stem is *-kunula* hurt).

16. R. *Ŋgoma jaNandoka apita-pe ndo.*
Nandoka's dance, who passes only trips up.
A. *Liici.*
Tree stump.

Notes. *ndo*, an ideophone. Note the idiomatic use of the suffix *-pe* with the relative.

17. R. *Napite kwaambuga jaŋgu, bandelecele muŋgu maleu.*
I went to my friend's, he cooked for me long pumpkins.
A. *Matandi.*
Fruits of the sausage-tree.

Notes. The main stress is on the first syllable in the word *napite*, so in every case with 1st. pers. sing. Remote Past Indefinite tense (positive) of the verb in Mwera.

bandelecele, the simple stem is *-teleka* (cook); here we have the applied ending with change of *k* to *c* before *e*. The obj. verb concord (1st p. sing.) *-ni-*, employed only with Cl. 1, causes sound change through nasal influence, *ni+t>nd*. Further changes of the initial consonant of the stem after nasal in Mwera are: *ni+p>mb*, *ni+c>nj*, *ni+l>nn*, *ni+k>ŋg*, *ni+y>ny*, *ni+b>mm*, *ni+w>n*.

muŋgu, note elision: the full form is *maungu* (Cl. 6). Cf. in Makonde: *Nanihwena kwamnyanja waŋgu mpaŋgutelekela matiŋgi malehu* (translation the same as in Riddle 17, and the same answer).

18. R. *Mkoŋgo mkuluŋgwa ŋgaŵaŋga mbaje.*
A big tree, he does not take honey from it.
A. *Linyai.*
A grass-reed.

Notes: *Linyai*, *l* is the flapped lateral and belongs to the same phoneme as true *l* in Mwera; I have observed the flapped sound before *i* only, when it sounds like a *d*. Normal rolled *r* does not occur in Mwera. The *r* in the word Mwera is foreign; the people call themselves baMwela, and their language *ciMwela*. To Europeans the people are known as the Mwera people.

19. R. *Apite mulombela ŋgabuja.*
Who goes to look for a wife does not come back.
A. *Liamba.*
A leaf.

Notes. *Mulombela*, idiomatic use of the locative with applied form. Cf. the Makonde riddle: *Mwana nimtumile lido akanaholoka* (The child whom I sent yesterday has not yet arrived). The answer in Makonde is *Lihamba*. The idea behind both riddles is that once the leaf drops from the tree it does not return.

20. R. *Tukwele ncitumbi tulole mbunda mwicela.*
Let us climb the hill and look at the zebra every day.
A. *Lupeto.*
Cut stalk of millet.

Notes. The locative is used with the noun *citumbi* (a hill). *mwicela*, an adverb formed from the applied form of the verb *-ca* (rise, of the sun).

My informant says that the stalks of millet lying on the ground after cutting have a striped effect when seen from a distance, like the skin of a zebra.

THE ANIMAL WORLD

(a) Insects.

21. R. *Ndendende nnuka-cando.*
Shake ! shake ! the plaiter of a mat.
A. *Litendewu.*
A hornet.

Notes. *Ndendende*, an ideophone for shaking. A hornet moves its hind-quarters rapidly up and down in filling a hole for egg-laying. When a person makes a grass-mat, the leaves shake about as he does his plaiting.

22. R. *Dkupu gwaŋgu uli mumpanda.*
My chain is in the path-way.
A. *Ndopotopo.*
Small, reddish-brown ants (Swahili, *siafu*).

Notes. The ants are like a chain across the path. *Nkupu*, in Swahili, *mkufu ;* there is no *f*-sound in Mwera. Cf. the Makonde riddle : *Nanihwena kwamama kukodya mkufu ulele* (I went to my mother's and found a chain on the ground, lit. lying down). The answer : *Dinjalahu.*

23. R. *Napite kwaambuga jaŋgu ŵandelecele nyama jaŋgatumbula.*
I went to my friend's and he cooked for me un-stripped meat.
A. *Kumbikumbi.*
White ants in the flying-stage. (People catch them, roast them, and eat them as a relish).

Notes. Cf. in Makonde : *Nanihwena kwamnyanja waŋgu kunnelekela inyama iŵakasinjile* (I went to my friend's and he cooked for me meat that was not slaughtered). Alternatively: *Inyama iŋhulumene, utumbo ŋkati-mo ukapali* (A big animal, no entrails inside).

24. R. *Maci gaŋkundi bi.*
Water of the *mkundi* tree, black as anything !
A. *Nyaŋunyaŋu.*
Small, black insects. (Swahili, *chungu*).

Notes. To make bark-cloth from the *mkundi* tree the bark is placed in water and the water turns black. Cf. the Makonde riddle : *Medi lamuŋkundi kudimba* (Water of the *mkundi* tree is black), with the answer : *Dinyukudumba* (Swahili *chungu*). Also : *Mhyitu ɣwa-Nandimba kudimba namuhi* (Nandimba's bush is black by daylight).

25. R. *Pulu pulu, naŋga ŋkulya-ndi ?*
Flitting hither and thither, in the bush what do you eat ?
A. *Libulugutwa.*
A butterfly.

26. R. *Napite kwaambuga jaŋgu mtai-gaŵa ŋgammanya.*
I went to my friend's, the first to break bread I do not know him,
A. *Liŵembe.*
A fly.

Notes. *Mtai-gaŵa*, from *-tai*, a nominal root, and *-gaŵa*, the simple stem meaning " break bread ". The omission of the prefix in the infinitive is unusual in this cluster of languages in such compound forms. Cf. *mundu juantai* (the first man), *mikoŋgo jamitai* (the first trees). The first ordinal is expressed also as follows : *mundu juatanduŵa, mikoŋgo jatanduŵa.* Note the omission of the nominal prefix in the last two examples ; *-tanduŵa* (be first).

27. R. *Dgoma jaNandoka wagombela cakunyuma.*
Nandoka's drum, he plays it backwards.
A. *Jelemba.*
Countess beetle.

Notes. The shrill cry of this beetle comes from its back. *Cakunyuma*, an adverb. Cf. *Apite kunyuma* (He went behind), and *Apite cakunyuma* (He went backwards).

28. R. *Naŋkwakwa atiŵile citili kwanyela.*
The lizard has plaited a stopper (a plug) where he excretes.
A. *Dgono.*
A snail. (The stopper or plug being his shell).

29. R. *Napite kwaambuga jaŋgu boi ŵala ŋekaŋga jika.*
I went to my friends's all of them just laughing at me.
A. *Ucece.*
White ants.

Notes. *Boi ŵala*, the enumerative pronoun followed by the demonstrative. The enumerative pronominal stem is *-owe*, e.g. *ŵandu ŵowe* (all the people), *cindu cowe* (every thing), but in this copulative use (as in the riddle) the pronunciation is expressed by writing *boi* not *bowe*.

ŋekaŋga, the simple stem is *-weka* (laugh); the nasal of the obj. v. concord produces sound change on initial *w* of the stem ; and *-aŋga* is the extensive suffix in verb forms. White ants make a sizzling noise in the walls of a house. Cf. in Makonde : *Nanihwena kwamnyanja waŋgu ŋgucidikila kundila kupi-*

likana kuheka ci, Pwaa. (I went to my friend's and as I was coming to the path I heard laughing, thus: *Pwaa!*). The answer is the same.

30. R. *Mwana-nuŋgwana pakumkamula makono gaŵili.*
A free-born child, for holding him two hands.
A. *Lijipi.*
A louse.

(b) Animals, birds, etc.

31. R. *Ti tundulima akulya mbanda nancolico acipata ŋgwajimbala milowe.*
Burrowing (in) a mound, he eats in a hole, Mr. Drag-foot (at) the bamboos is not satisfied with words.
A. *Uko.*
A mole.

Notes. A difficult riddle, but my informant explains it thus: *tundulima*, a moúnd, is a noun of class 7, *citundulima.*

tu tu, an ideophone for burrowing, but here the second or repeated ideophone is omitted since *tu-* is the first syllable of the next word.

nancolico, a personal noun of ideophonic origin; *coli coli*, an ideophone for walking with one foot dragged along the ground. *acipata*, more commonly *cipata* (s. Cl. 7) and *ipata* (pl. Cl. 8), means the base of a cluster of bamboos, a favourite place for the mole to burrow. *Aci-* is a prefix of Cl. 1, used, according to my informant, to confuse the listener.

-jimbala milowe, means grow fat on words, be satisfied with words. When the mole is burrowing and eating the bamboo he makes a lot of noise, but it is not the noise that he is feeding on.

32. R. *Paicile mwana-nYao macakaca kumi kumi.*
Where the Yao-child came, huts in tens.
A. *Uko.*
A mole. (The mole-hills are huts).

33. R. *Naŋgomba akupita-ju naliŵago lyake.*
Mr. Ngomba passes with his axe.
A. *Liŋwaŋwa,*
Trumpeter hornbill. (The axe is his beak).

34. R. *Ciŋkomile nambande mtima ucilipuka.*
What hit *nambande*, (his) heart was startled.
A. *Ligwagulilo.*
Skin of a snake.

Notes. *Nambande*, the name of a game in which two children throw things at each other, stones, mango-seeds (like flat stones) or arrows. One boy stands and shouts to his opponent: *Nambande.* Reply: *Caŋkolowele* (What you scooped out). The first boy: *Mkuluŋgwa nduni?* (Who is the big one?). Reply: *Mwemwe* (You). Then they begin to dodge each other's missiles. The words of this game are in Yao, and are used without any change by Makua and Mwera children. In the riddle, the boy thought he had been hit by a snake, but it was only the skin.

35. R. *Andegule kupala, aŋgololo kupala, ŋgaliŋgana kajuni kamukonde kakutenda ndoli ndoli kupala.*
The honey-bird scratches, the guinea-fowl (crested) scratches, he does not resemble a little bird of the bush who goes, *ndoli, ndoli*, (when) scratching.
A. *Lipulugwa.*
A kind of water-fowl.

Notes. This bird is described in the riddle as (of the bush), but his real home is in lakes and river-banks. In Makua he is called *ipuruma*, and the Makuas say of him, *Ipuruma kaninepa wahi mafi* (The *ipuruma* bird does not sing where there is no water). Both the honey-bird and the crested guinea-fowl scratch up the earth in long single strokes, but the *lipulugwa* bird does so in quick, frequent movements and often leaves earth behind that the other birds would have removed in one stroke. *Ndoli ndoli* is an ideophone for trickling of sand or water; the bird removes the earth like, say, a man taking up sand with his fingers; some of the sand trickles back.

36. R. *Dkutenda ilili nimumu.*
You remain quiet, it is inside,

A. *Dgoŋo.*
Tortoise.

Notes. *ilili*, an ideophone for quietness. The idea is that the quietness is something the tortoise purposely achieves inside his shell.

37. R. *Nanjeŋguli ŋgamoga.*
Mr. Patch does not cut his hair.
A. *Mbwa.*
A dog.

Notes. *Nanjeŋguli*, a personal noun of ideophonic origin, cf. the ideophone *jeŋguli*, for having a patch of hair on a bald head.

mbwa, *m* is not syllabic as in the Swahili word *mbwa*. In the latter word the stress is a falling one, but in the Mwera word the stress is rising and the word monosyllablic. Syllabic nasals do occur however in Mwera, e.g. *n-twe* (head), *m-mi-te-la* (a doctor). The plural of *mbwa* in Mwera is *ŵambwa*, in Swahili it is *mbwa*.

38. R. *Caŋgali nnaŋgo.*
It has no door.
A. *Liji.* (pl. *maji*).
An egg.

CROPS AND OTHER FOODS

39. R. *Puŵaŋkamule mwana-nuŋgwana ŋguwo-pei tute.*
When they took hold of the free-born child these clothes (were) plentiful.
A. *Lilombe.*
Grain of maize.

Notes. *ŋguwo-pei*, the emphatic demonstrative in Mwera, is made up of the reduplicated pronominal prefix followed by the formative *pe-* with the pronom. prefix again, e.g. *juju-pe-ju* (Cl. 1), *lili-peli* (Cl. 5), *cici-peci* (Cl. 7), *ii-pei* (Cl. 10). Such forms as *peju*, *peli*, etc. cannot stand alone, but may follow a noun, as in *nguwo-pei*. *tute*, an ideophone for being very many.

The clothes are the sheath of the maize-cob. Cf. in Makonde: *Mwanawe Liwali naŋkuŵelekwa nadiŋguwo dyake* (The son of the *Liwali* as soon as he is born had (lit. with) his clothes). Or: *Mwanawe Msuŋgu akaŵelekwe dinguwo kupya kupya* (The European's son born with very many clothes). Or: *Cinanda cake kumu kuladya-kuladya* (The chief's bed, making it up with many bed-clothes).

40. R. *Ciuguu tenjela.*
The ant-hill is spread about.
A. *Mteya.*
Ground-nuts.

Notes. *Ciuguu*, for *ciugulu*, with elision of the lateral between vowels, *tenjela*, the simple stem, meaning abound, extended over. Ground-nuts planted in one place spread themselves in its neighbourhood in growing. Cf. in Makonde: *Mwanda ummite weka, pakuya kuuya naŵanu kumi* (A journey which I went alone, as to returning I came back (lit. coming back) with ten people). The answer is: *Dindu* (Ground-nuts).

41. R. *Dene-makali kila caka pagono pai-pe.*
The owner of a mat each year as for sleeping (sleeps) right on the floor.
A. *Libobola.*
Pumpkin.

Notes. The pumpkin sends out its leaves, but rests on the ground, not on the leaves nor on its stem's ramifications.

42. R. *Pai kuligwa nani kuligwa pakati pakati ŋgaligwa.*
Being eaten beneath, being eaten above, in the middle it is not eaten.
A. *Dogo.*
Cassava.

Notes. The cassava has a stringy centre which is not eaten. *kuligwa*, passive of the monosyllabic verb stem *-lya*, cf. the passive of other monosyllabic verb-stems in Mwera: *-pegwa* (of *-pa*, give), *-pilwa* (of *-pya*, burn), *-gwilwa* (of *-gwa*, fall), *-wilwa* (of *-wa*, die).

43. R. *Jaŋgalika makono kuNnuŋgu, mbela-ci.*
Stretched out the arms to God, you have given me this.
A. *Uweceni.*
Bullrush millet or eleusine.

Notes. *jaŋgalika*, neuter form of the verb *-jaa* (throw) with extensive ending *-aŋga*. *mbela-ci*, for *mbele-aci*, elision of the final vowel of the verb form with perfect ending *-pele*;

nasal influence on initial consonant of verb stem.

The straight, upright eleusine is compared to spears in a similar Makua proverb.

44. R. *Napite kukajaŋgu boi ŵala kotimaŋga jika koti koti koti.*
I went to my friend's, all of them bending down by themselves, bending, bending bending.
A. *Mpuŋga.*
Rice.

Notes. *kotimaŋga*, a good example of a verb of ideophonic origin, *-kotima* (bend) with extensive ending *-aŋga*. Stalks of rice bend down as the fruit ripens.

45. R. *Tuteme ndela tuwulajile bana ŵityetye.*
Let us break little sticks, let us kill bulbuls for the children.
A. *Mkuya.*
Semsem.

Notes. *tuwulajile*, subjunctive of the verb with applied ending. The simple stem is *-ulaga ;* reflexive, *-ibulaga* or *-iyulaga*, with perfect ending *-uleje*. The consonant *g* becomes *j* before *i* or *e*. The seeds are beaten with sticks after gathering and drying.

46. R. *Nyumba jikuluŋgwa lwici limo-pe.*
A big house, only one supporting post.
A. *Uŵai.*
A mushroom.

Notes. Cf. in Makonde: *Iŋande yamama luhomelo lumo* (My mother's house (has) one supporting post). The answer is *Uŵahi.*

47. R. *Lukonji lucoko ndembo cali.*
A small trap, elephants are caught (*cali*, ideophone for being trapped).
A. *Likumbila.*
A pumpkin. (Small stem, but big plant).

48. R. *Mwana-nuŋgwana ciŵelekwele cikalipile.*
A free-born child when he is born is bitter.
A. *Litaŋgo.*
Native cucumber.

Notes. *ciŵelekwele cikalipile*, not recognizable relative forms. The relative forms would be *juaŵelekwelo* and *juakalipile*. In Bantu riddles verb-forms are sometimes employed which do not conform to the rules of ordinary grammatical speech.

49. R. *Ligolegole nnikuŋgwa.*
A hoopoe in a chicken roost.
A. *Ugu.*
Ground-nuts. (Swahili, *jugumawe*).

Notes. The hoopoe would make a noise in the roost; the nuts rattle in their pods. Cf. in Makonde: *Dgaya ŋgaya ŋkatumba* (Rattle, rattle, in a small calabash). Or: *Dgundu ŋgundu mkaŋguŋgwa* (Scuttle, scuttle, in the roost).

5. THE HUMAN BODY AND ITS FUNCTIONS

50. R. *Mpatila ukacipinji ugumbale utale.*
The skin-bag of the shrew is full to the brim.
A. *Meno.*
Teeth.

Notes. In Mwera the possessive with nouns has an alternative form with pronominal prefix (subj. verb concord) + formative *-ka-* + the noun indicating the possessor. This form is not used if the possessor is a superior, i.e. if the honorific plural can be employed in agreement with the noun; nor can this form be used with ordinary plural nouns indicating superior persons or things. The possessive concord is employed before such nouns, and, alternatively, before nouns indicating inferior persons or things, whether in the singular or the plural. Examples: *Mpatila ukacapinji*, or *Mpatila gwacapinji ; Liŵago likamundu ajula* (the axe of that man), or *Liŵago lyamundu ajula ; Nyumba jaŵakuluŋgwa* (the house of the elder); *Nyumba yaatati* (the house of my father); *Maji gacijuni*, or *Maji gakacijuni* (the eggs of the bird); *Ntwe ukalijani*, or *Ntwe gwalijani* (the head of the monkey); *Buci gwanjomba* (the goat of my uncle), but *Buci ukamwaŋaŋgu* (the goat of my child).

utale, *-tale*, a nominal stem used also with adverbial meaning, plenty, abundantly, full, cf. in Swahili, *tele*. The idea in the riddle

is that the mouth is full of teeth, the mouth being the skin-bag.

51. R. *Ntendeco gwaambuje upite nandanje.*
My grandfather's staff goes with the flood.
A. *Likaku.*
Dirt of the body.

Notes. The idea is that dirt goes away with washing, like a staff carried away by the water of a flood. Cf. the neighbouring Ngindo riddle: *Ntindico wawawa udyawe namaci* (My grandfather's staff goes away with the water), to which the answer is: *Luuku* (Bodly dirt).

52. R. *Cajigele ambuje.*
What my grandfather carried.
A. *Uli.*
Grey-hair.

Notes. Cf. the Makonde riddle: *Pocela canya-kwile vîvîi, tulye* (Receive what grandmother carried, let us eat). The answer: *Dihuli* (Grey-hair). Explained thus: *Kundila dihuli dinasolela kama uwali* (In the path grey-hair will look like native porridge).

53. R. *Ciici canjanda cijumula mbali jimo.*
The stump of the *mjanda* tree dries up on one side.
A. *Cikamba.*
Finger-nail.

Notes. *cijumula*, primary stress is on the first syllable of the verb-stem, a characteristic of trisyllabic verb-stems in Mwera. The finger-nail goes round only one side of the finger.

54. R. *Tukulya ipu.*
We who eat the ripe thing.
A. *Matvele.*
The breasts.

Notes. *ipu*, a noun of ideophonic origin, the ideophone is *ipu*, of ripeness, with stress, in both noun and ideophone, on the first syllable. Cf. the verb *-ipuka* (be ripe).

55. R. *Cikotimile paluci.*
What bends down at the well.
A. *Mbula.*
A nose. (The well is the mouth).

56. R. *Dganga ivîli ntundu ko ko.*
Two guinea-fowl, little hills they jump over them.
A. *Meo.*
The eyes.

Notes. *ko ko*, a duplicated ideophone for jumping over, passing over. When looking, the eyes pass over hills.

57. R. *Dgunda gwankulungwa kuuna yalya ngagumbala mkono.*
A big field, harvesting the food, it does not fill the hand.
A. *Umbo.*
Hair of the head.

Notes. Cf. in Makonde: *Nanilima welu wangu pakulondola mmakono* (I hoed my field, as to reaping (only) in the hands.

58. R. *Dguku jangu atajile palovê.*
My chicken laid its eggs at a thorn-bush.
A. *Lulimi.*
The tongue.

Notes. Cf. in Makonde: *Inuku yamama itaidi pamiivâ* (My mother's chicken laid its eggs among thorns). The thorns are the teeth.

59. R. *Tuma tuma tundunya.*
Going at a pace, staying put.
A. *Mai.*
Faeces.

Notes. The duplicated ideophone followed by another ideophone in this riddle is meant to indicate the process of defecation.

60. R. *Apa katanda apa kaugulu.*
Here a little lake, here a little ant-hill.
A. *Mai namakweyo.*
Faeces and urine.

Notes. Cf. the Makonde riddle: *Imbula wutu, mnonji gwi* (Rain falls, the baobab fruit drops); *wutu* and *gwi* are ideophones. The answer is: *Mavî namakwedo.*

61. R. *Lionga lyangu kulecela kubuja kwitopola namwene.*
My arrow shooting (it) returns and I hit (lit. hitting myself).
A. *Makweyo.*
Urine.

Notes. Cf. in Makonde: *Medi kutonya kuhelelo kulodya muha* (Rain falling on the slope, meeting it high up).

62. R. *Ɗkumpa-ju ? Ɗkumba-nne ?*
Are you giving (it) to this one ? Are you giving (it) to me ?
A. *Mbula nakaŋwa.*
Nose and mouth.

DOMESTIC LIFE

63. R. *Ɗguluwe paŋkunduŋkundu jake.*
A pig on his backside.
A. *Litaŋga.*
A door (as distinct from a door-way). A fastened door does not move about.

64. R. *Akuno ceŋgu akuno ceŋgu pakati kuntamika nanjonjo.*
Here, that to you, here, that to you, in the middle make the fool sit down.
A. *Maiga.*
Hearth-stones.

Notes. *Ceŋgu*, an ideophone, like saying "Snooks to you", cf. derived verb *-ceŋgula* (to raise or twiggle the thumb in disrespect), *kuntamika*, the causative form of *-tama* (sit, dwell); *-wina nanjonjo* (make a fool of, disrespect). The idea is of the cooking-pot being put on the stones. Cf. in Makonde: *Matatu-matatu mpaka kuNdonde* (In threes as far as the West). The answer: *Mahindili* (hearth-stones).

65. R. *Mkole gwatawîle wâkoŋgwe ŋgatoloka.*
The slave whom the women tied up does not run away.
A. *Litita lyamanyai.*
Bundle of grass.

Notes. *Mkole*, in Makua, as in Mwera, this is a Cl. 3 noun with plural *mi-*, cf. also in Makua, *mkole* (ape), pl. *akole*. Further examples of relative construction in Mwera: *Mapaŋga gajigele* (The spears which they carried). *Ɗombe juaumile* (The cow which he bought). *Mundu jumumwene* (The man whom you saw). *Mundu junimwene* (The man whom I saw). *Cindu ciŋkupiŋga* (The thing that he wants). *Wându buwâulele* (The people who killed them). *Mkoŋgo gututubice* (The tree that we shall place).

66. R. *Mpite owa kumbwelepecea.*
Go, walk, playing about with me.
A. *Cinanda.*
A bed.

Notes. *-owa*, the simple stem used imperatively. *kumbwelepecea*, the simple stem is *-pwelepeca ;* the verb ending used in the riddle is the intensive ending, cf. further examples in Mwera: *-weka* (laugh) and *-wecea* (laugh very much); *-piŋga* (want, love) and *-pinjia* (want, love very much); *-tenda* (do) and *-tendea* (do intensively).

The idea is that after walking about during the day, people lie down, the bed squeaks as if it were being played with. Cf. in Makonde: *Mkahakalika muŋgutimbaŋga* (If you are tired trouble me). The answer is the same.

67. R. *Cancupi pele.*
The bulbul rushes by.
A. *Lioi.*
Smoke.

Notes. *pele*, an ideophone for the swift flight of a bird through long grass. The comparison is with smoke in a bush-fire blown by the wind.

68. R. *Unoku buda.*
Covering and uncovering.
A. *Luwajo* (pl. *nyajo*).
Foot-print.

Notes. Two ideophones make up this riddle. The action of covering is made by putting the foot down; lifting it up again the foot-print is uncovered.

69. R. *Cikunnola-ci.*
This which looks at me.
A. *Imbeletwa.*
A window.

Notes. Cf. in Makonde: *Cindola-* The answer is: *Citonono* (window).

70. R. *Caŋgaunicila.*
What is not covered.
A. *Liiko.*
A well.

Notes. *-unicila* (cover) has reversive form *-unukula.* Cf. in Makonde: *Ciwâkahunikila.* The answer: *Cihima* (a well).

71. R. *Nyumba jaŋgu jaŋgali taa.*
My house has no lamp.

A. *Likabuli.*
A grave.

Notes. *taa*, a Swahili borrowing: so also *likabuli* from the Swahili word *kaburi*.
Cf. in Makonde: *Ŵalikunyata-awa ŵakama uŵalele, aŵanyakuli nani?* (These who clasp themselves are like those who sleep, who carries them?) Answer: *Lidembe* (Grave). Referring to the way in which people were buried, with arms clasped.

72. R. *Ukaŵeje ucikola meno, ukaliji utumaile.*
If you had teeth you would have finished us up.
A. *Nnaŋgo.*
Door.

Notes. The stem *-kola* (perf. *-kwete*) is employed, as in Yao, to express the meaning "have, possess". Cf. in Makonde: *Ciŵi nameno cikanitumalila* (If it had teeth it would have finished us up). Answer: *Lwidi* (Bamboo door).

73. R. *Kate kate ŋkalamba ŋkaona cikoŋgono canjua ŋkalya ŋgunde mwitali.*
Little holes in the small field, you saw the leg of a pigeon, and you ate beans in the patch.
A. *Kupanda.*
Planting.

Notes. *Kate kate*, an ideophone for the appearance of small holes. *cikoŋgono*, depreciatory class, here meant to indicate the small shoot after first growth. *Itali*, small plot of ground near a house, used for planting.

74. R. *Ncila gwandindi kutaunila kulepela.*
The tail of the wild-cat, eating (it), failing.
A. *Mpanda.*
A path.

Notes. The idea is that the path seems to have no end. You fail to eat it, i.e. come to its end.

75. R. *Ŵana ŵambaŋgo baŋwa ciko cimo.*
The children of the wild boar drink at one well.
A. *Lumelo.* (pl. *omelo*).
Post supporting poles of roof.

76. R. *Bana ŵatatu ajaula jumo ŋgata ŋgata.*
Three children, one goes away, there is trouble.
A. *Maiga.*
Hearth-stones. (*Ŋgata*, duplicated ideophone for state of trouble, upset). The stones are always in threes.

UTENSILS AND OTHER OBJECTS

77. R. *Cimbeleŋga-mbeleŋga cimeala ŵandu.*
A thing with holes in it finishes up the people.
A. *Liau.*
A net.

Notes. *beleŋga*, a duplicated ideophone in Makonde for there being a space in the bush without trees or brush. My informant gives the meaning as translated in the riddle. In Mwera, the ideophone *pelete* (reduplicated) is used for having holes. The first noun in the riddle may be of ideophonic origin, but my informant did not know of such an ideophone as *beleŋga* in Mwera. It may be a borrowing from Makonde. Cf. in Makonde: *Mhyitu wabeleŋgabeleŋga kulya ŵandu* (Bush without trees, eating people). The answer: *Lwau* (a net). The idea may be that people live in places cleared of bush; a net has holes, but animals are trapped inside it.

78. R. *Ntwe gwaŋgulukulu gabola.*
The head of the purple-creasted turaco does not rot.
A. *Cijunjo.*
A potsherd. (No explanation provided).

79. R. *Ŋgalagaya akupita-ju naŵana ŵake.*
Ngalagaya who passes with his children.
A. *Upinde.*
A bow.

Notes. *Ŋgalagaya*, a kind of small insect. Cf. in Makonde: *Nanyaya naŵana ŵake.* Same answer. The children are the arrows.

80. R. *Amula cao, amula cetu.*
In there theirs, in there ours.
A. *Cupa.*
A bottle.

Notes. In each house the owners have a bottle. Cf. in Makonde: *Kuyela mpondo kulekelela*

(Throwing out an oar, leaving it at that). An oar does not reach the bottom of the water, neither does your finger reach the bottom of a bottle. Also: *Cikapita mkono* (Which the hand does not pass through).

81. R. *Citemi nkaiki?*
What dwells, are you broken?
A. *Kopia.*
A hat.

Notes. *Citemi*, relative with perfect ending from *tama*. cf. *-temice*, perfect of *-tema* (cut). *nkaiki*, but the normal perfect ending is *-kaice*. In Mwera, *k* appears as *c* before *i* in normal speech. The verb *-kaa* (break); passive *-kawa*, neuter *-kaika*, extensive of the neuter *-kaikanga*. This may be a subjunctive: *nkaike*. Cf. in riddle 72, the last word, the subjunctive used in conditional construction, which my informant pronounced alternatively *utumaili*. Here the meaning may be: May you be broken? My informant said that a hat was like a potsherd, which can be broken.

82. R. *Mjenga mauta paŋgoŋgo cwa cwa cwa.*
Builder of oil, on the back there is nothing.
A. *Liŋola.*
A bee-hive.

Notes. The oil is the honey, the builder the hive. Outside there is no kind of appendage, just the thin air. The ideophone expresses whiteness, absence of any dark object.

83. R. *Dande ŋande ucibuluŋga gwele.*
Playing about, it went in with difficulty.
A. *Cimaje nacigonelo.*
A knife and a sheath.

Notes. *Dande ŋande*, an ideophone for playing about, messing about. *-buluŋga*, penetrate with difficulty. *gwele*, ideophone for going inside, the action completed. Cf. in Makonde: *Tiŵitiŵi kwenda mwaki tindiŋgoli*, *tindiŋgoli kwenda mwaki tiŵitiŵi* (*Tiŵitiŵi* goes into *tindiŋgoli*, *tindiŋgoli* goes into *tiŵitiŵi*). *Tiŵitiŵi*, ideophone for going up and down: derived verb *-tiŵila* (go up and down). *Tindiŋgoli*, ideophone for varied course, the place of appearance being uncertain. The answer is alternatively: *Tupa* (file), *cipula* (knife), or *amunda* (pigeon).

84. R. *Atende kwenda mwacupi, acupi kwenda mwatende.*
Atende goes into *acupi*, *acupi* goes into *atende*.
A. *Nomelo naciŋwelo.*
A ladle and a small calabash.

Notes. The two words *atende* and *acupi* are, according to my informant, meant to confuse. Cf. in Makonde: *Mpanye ndumbwe mcihici* (Hit the bulbul in the tree-stump). Answer: *Nnusu* (Calabash). The action indicated is of putting the calabash in the beer. Also: *Mpelekedye ndindi akaliyele* (Send him in and let him get himself out). *Ndindi*, an ideophone for the action of putting the calabash vigorously into the beer.

85. R. *Akauŵi kujaŋgala-jaŋgala-pe, aimba citamile-pe mbo mbo mbo.*
Mr. Leopard just trotting along, Mr. Lion just sits doing nothing.
A. *Litende lyaukana.*
A pot of beer.

Notes. The prefix *aka-* or *a-* is used for personification of animals. *citamile*, or *citemi*. In ordinary speech, the form *-temi* is generally employed. The leopard is the person who hands out the beer, he trots back and forth to the pot, which stays put.

86. R. *Napite kuluci nakamwile mcila gwaŋombe.*
I went to the well and took hold of the tail of a cow.
A. *Lupiliŋga.*
Handle of a ladle.

87. R. *Lijoka lyaŋaŋga akuno kuluma akuno kuluma.*
Snake of the bush, biting here, biting here.
A. *Mwi.*
A pestle.

Notes. Referring to the use of both ends of the pestle.

88. R. *Napite kwaambuge jaŋgu boi ŵala ŋulumilaŋga jika.*
I went to my friend's, all of them peeping at me.

A. *Mwi.*
A pestle.

Notes. *ŋulumilanga*, the verb is *ulumila*, and assimilation has taken place: *kuniulumila*> *ŋulumila*. Cf. in Makonde: *Nanihena pakaya-pa kukodya uŵamwolotaŋga Nnuŋgu* (I went here in the village and found (them) pointing out God). Also: *Upiani kuca tumwolote Nnuŋgu* (Speed the sunset let us point up to God). Also: *Nanihena kwaki somo nkucidikila pandila kuŋgula-ŋgulaŋga ŵikodombo* (I went to my friend's and arrived in the path (he) showing me his fists). Referring to pestle when lifted up and seen above the back-fence of a house.

89. R. *Nyama ncoko ncila-pe kutita.*
A small animal, only the tail being long.
A. *Iŋgano.*
Needle.

Notes. Cf. in Makonde: *Mwana mdikidikici mpindu nnehu* (A small child (with) a long loin-cloth). The cloth, or the tail, is the cotton.

90. R. *Nyama jaŋaŋga ndutumba ncece.*
An animal of the bush (with) four horns.
A. *Likalala.*
Bamboo-basket for carrying maize. (Has four corners).

91. R. *Naŋkwakwa kulya likonde mcilo-li mbanda.*
A lizard eating the bush, the tail is in a hole.
A. *Lijela.*
A hoe.

Notes. *mcilo-li*, coalescence of final vowel *a* with initial *u* in form with the defective verb, *mcila-uli*. The only example of such coalescence observed. Elision of final vowel in verb forms is more frequent. Cf. in Makonde: *Naŋkwakwa kumalila malaŋga, ncila uŵele mbaka* (The lizard finishes up the bush, the tail is in a hole). Answer: *Mpipi waliyembe* (Blade of a hoe). When used for hoeing part of the blade remains above ground, the part used for fixing it into the handle of the hoe. The lizardbeats up the earth, while part of him may be in in a hole.

92. R. *Niŵa kacoko mkampe.*
Though I be very small give (me) to him.
A. *Ntuli.*
A mortar. (Even small quantities of food have to be pounded).

93. R. *Mkantole mwali cece.*
Shake the girl up and down.
A. *Liuŋgulo.*
A winnowing-basket.

Notes. *cece*, an ideophone. Cf. the Makonde riddle: *Kadikadiki kancema mwalimu* (A very small thing calls the teacher). The answer: *Mnhyamato* (winnowing-basket), or *Ntuli* (a mortar). The idea is the same as in Riddle 92.

94. R. *Caŋgapita mkono.*
Which the hand does not pass through.
A. *Cupa.*
A bottle. (See Riddle 80).

95. R. *Cikuona ŋkukutu kuŵaŋga.*
What makes a noise in the bush.
A. *Alamba.*
A bell.

Notes. The bell, *alamba*, is a piece of iron beaten on the eve of the day when boys enter the Mwera circumcision rites (*likomaŋga*).

96. R. *Gwakwenda kuona gwabuja ŋgaona.*
Going it sounds out, returning it does not sound out.
A. *Mtumba.*
Calabash. (For water: returning from the well with water, the calabash creaks).

97. R. *Cilwele paŋitu-pa.*
Sickness here in the wood.
A. *Lukonji.*
A trap.

Notes. *cilwele*, cf. the verb *-lwala* (be sick); *nnwele* (sick person), pl. *ŵalwele*. Cf. in Makonde: *Aŵiŵi ŵawuwula moŋgo paŋhyitu* (Grand-mother has back-ache in the wood here). Referring to the bent sapling used for a trap, like the bent back of a sick person.

98. R. *Gala gala mcitumbi.*
Falling down on the hill.

A. *Ciamulo.*
A comb.

99. R. *Pita-ko twimana-ko.*
Pass there, let us meet there.

A. *Mkokoi.*
A belt.

100. R. *Kwenda kuciimana.*
Going (and) meeting it.

A. *Citutuli.*
Ash-heap.

Notes. The use of the obj. verb concord Cl. 7 is the only example observed of obj. verb concord for any other Class but Cl. 1. My informant omits it in verb forms in folk-stories.

THE CAPTURE OF FUMBAM

By M. D. W. JEFFREYS

The story of the capture of Fumban is of interest because there are two extant accounts of it. One written by the British and the other, by Njoya. I give the two accounts, beginning with that of Njoya which is his chapter 162 in his *History of his People the Bamum*, written in a script which he invented :—

Chapter 162.

Fumban year 20[1] ; 8 moons die ; Puhe month ; 5th. day Tuifut day. The story of king Njoya when the Germans fought the French and English.

I

The Germans were in occupation of Bamum territory. Then Nduwara, a son of Manga,[2] sent Ndana, a Bamum, who had been sold as a slave in Makwup[3] to interview Njoya, saying that the French and English had started a war against the Germans in our country. " I, Nduwara, son of Manga, ask you, Njoya, to rise and attack the Germans in your land of the Bamum." After Ndana had thus spoken to king Njoya, Njoya sent word to Nduwara saying :—" The Germans are like a father to me. I, king Njoya, am as one of their sons. How then do you expect me to fight them ? " He arrested Ndana and handed him over to the Germans. The Germans were greatly pleased with Njoya. They imprisoned Ndana ; arrested Nduwara and killed him.

The Germans now fought the French and English and king Njoya gave great assistance in war supplies to the Germans. The Germans asked for recruits for the army and the king sent many men. The Germans asked for men armed with flint-lock guns, for spearmen, and bowmen to assist in the fighting and the king sent them. The Germans asked for mounted heralds and 4,000 silver marks as gifts to the soldiers and the king gave the money.

II

In this war king Njoya helped the Germans with food supplies. The Germans asked for 1,000 porters and he sent them. Germans asked for 900 porters and he sent them. (and so on down to 200)

III

King Njoya helped the Germans in this war by supplying great quantities of food. The Germans asked for 2,000 large baskets for carrying maize-meal. No count was kept of the goats, fowls, eggs supplied. Whatever quantity of food the Germans demanded, that amount he supplied. All these things were given without any record being kept.

IV

The Germans asked the king to make and repair roads and he did so. He even repaired Rest Houses and their quarters on all roads when told to do so. Anything that was asked of Njoya that he gave.

V

When the fighting went heavily against the Germans they began to retreat to the land of the Fulani.[4] When Njoya heard that one of the English columns had reached the Gham mountains[5] and that another had crossed the Mabe river[6] he sent one of his heralds to meet those on the Gham mountains, who asked for 600 porters. Njoya sent 600 porters to these English to carry their loads. Njoya sent other heralds to meet the column that had crossed the Mabe. These two column met in Fumban in the year 16 :[7] three moons die ; Fatimu month ; 26th Nkemma day. When they arrived on this Nkemma day, Njoya set out to meet the Bagham coloumn at the Fumban gateway in the Nkunga ward. Then he went back to meet the column from the Fulani land and met it at the Fumban gateway in the Mfintan ward. All the Bamum people, men, women and children had now assembled in the Nja dancing square. Then Njoya returned with the English and stood in this square and all the Bamum with one voice saluted the English who returned the salute. Njoya addressed the English

saying: "I am as it were a woman. All you Europeans are men. What you Whites demand I am unable to refuse."

VI

The English replied "Do you know if there are any Germans in your land". So Njoya sent out his heralds with Bamum warriors to search through the land and track down any Germans they found. They caught many Germans soldiers. Though these soldiers fired on the heralds and the warriors, they remained unafraid and, capturing the soldiers, brought them to the king who handed them over to the English. The English were greatly pleased with the Bamum, saying they were a powerful tribe. During this time some Germans had assembled in the mountains of Fomlim. The English asked Njoya for some heralds to accompany them on the attack on the Germans. The English captured some, the others fled after their comrades. One German European was captured, and one was killed. The corpse was carried to Njisse[8] and there buried.

VII

The English were now established in Bamum land and Njoya supplied great quantities of food to the English, many large baskets of maize-meal and six cows, and many eggs and other special foods for the Europeans in great quantities. The English now had more food than they could use, so they returned some of it to the king telling him to supply smaller quantities. The English paid much money for this food.[9]

VIII

The English now asked Njoya whether the Germans had left any of their stores in Bamum land, and Njoya said they had. The English told Njoya to produce all these German stores. Njoya sent word through all Bamum land saying that if any Bamum had any German property he was to produce it. They did so, bringing the German property to the king, who handed it over to the English. The English were very pleased with the king and he was very pleased with the English.

The English remained in Bamum land for three months and then went back. Njoya supplied them with great numbers of porters." (A) The British account of the capture of Fumban runs as follows:—"The news of the occupation of Bamenda (on the 22nd October 1918) only reached General Cunliffe on the 9th November, and next day he issued orders to Captain Parr at Kentu to join Major Crookenden at Bamenda; and to Major Crookenden to move on to Fumban with as strong a force as possible.

The German troops retired from Bagam towards Fumban and throughout the 22nd November the combined British column advancing Eastwards, was engaged with their rearguard. The Nigerians, who were leading, incurred twelve casualties. Next day, continuing their advance, the British encountered little opposition till the Nun river was reached at a point about twelve miles East of Bagam. At this point the river was deep, unfordable and about three hundred yards wide, and the enemy who had removed or burnt all the canoes and rafts was holding a position on the further bank."(B) The British troops were thus held up, and a flanking movement was decided on. This decision meant that the West African Frontier Force (known as the Waffs) went back until they could find a ford across the river, Nun while the West African Regiment (known as the Wars) remained at the main crossing.

The narrative is now continued from the diary of Colonel Stooks D.S.O. who took part in the capture of Fumban. "Our hopes of a few days of 'make and mend' were however soon dispelled. The disturber of our peace was not the German Commander from across the river (Nun) who contented himself with an occasional 'hate' when stirred up by our picquets, but was a deputaion from the king of Fumban. The envoy arrived under a flag of truce and brought greetings from his master and a request that we would advance on Fumban as quickly as possible. The message continued that the Germans were leaving Fumban; that they already had hanged some of his chief men and he (the king) feared the worst for himself:[10] that the envoy knew of a place up-stream with was not watched by the Germans, and where our force could cross: that any food we wanted would be forthcoming once

we were over his border (the Nun), and please would we come quickly.

The fact of the proposed crossing place being up stream enabled the column commander to fall in with the king's views, as such a move would only mean that we should meet the Waff (West African Frontier Force) column one or two days earlier than expected, and on the left bank of the river. Moreover, the Germans had not shown any signs of an offensive spirit, so there seemed little danger in leaving this crossing lightly guarded.

The O. C. Wars (West African Regiment) was therefore ordered to leave an officer and twenty-five men at the crossing to keep the enemy amused and to receive and cherish our expected convoy ; while the remainder of the column i.e. the Indian Regiment and the rest of the Wars, with the gun, would trust itself to the guidance of the envoy and hope for the best.

The Wars therefore started off that night (the 26th November 1915) guided by the envoy in person, while we followed early the next morning, led by one of his assistants.

Never shall I forget that march. The road led over some high ground near the crossing, and as this was the only spot where our movements would be visible to the enemy, it had to be negotiated before daylight. Consequently 4 a.m. was fixed for the start, and an hour later we were safely past the danger spot and swallowed up in the swamp fringing the river.

In this swamp we continued for the next seven hours.[11] The bright spots on that day are marked in my memory by the rare occurrences on which we touched dry land. For the most part, when we were not tripping over creepers in the darkness we were falling into mud holes ; when we were not up to our waists in mudholes we were knocking our heads against overhanging branches. How the gun-carriers managed to get their loads along passes the imagination : but they are truly marvellous fellows, these Sierra Leone carriers, and can do most things which require strength and endurance. At last we emerged from our marshy jungle onto a nice open bit of swamp with a small hill growing out of it. This hill our guide indicated as marking the crossing place. The 'Wars' had arrived an hour or so before and had already sent an officer and a few men down the river in the only two available boats. The envoy had gone with them to procure more boats from the Fumban side.

The hill proved to be the only dry place for miles—a veritable oasis in a waste of swamp, and boasted a narrow beach at its base on which we could settle the men down. The next thing was to see about getting the army over, and fortunately the envoy arrived at the head of a fleet of a dozen or more boats. These boats we were destined to know well in the next few days. The word boat is an entire misnomer—raft would be better : but semi-buoyant faggot describes them best.[12] The motive power is provided by a Native with a long pole. We found that not more than three men with their rifles and kit could safely be put on the best of these contraptions, and as we had some 250 fighting men and a large army of carriers, besides kit, ammunition, a gun and maxims, and a certain amount of supplies, the crossing took some time. Moreover the opposite landing place was a mile and a half up stream. Our archaic craft took the best part of three hours to do the return journeys: so it was not till the evening of the twenty-ninth that the last of the troops and stores were over. The nature of the river was such that work could only be done by daylight : as soon as the sun set an impenetrable mist closed down and one unfortunate European sergeant of the 'Wars,' who had crossed late, spent the night in his half submerged raft surrounded by bellowing hippos, owing to the failure of his boatman to find the landing place.

We were on the German side of the river, twelve miles or so above the main crossing where the enemy was patiently waiting for us, and it only remained to get into touch with Crookenden and his 'Waffs' and arrange a new plan of operations. The envoy who was now on his own ground, had not been idle, and had sent out various myrmidons to look for Crookenden ; in due course they found him, and the following plan was agreed on by the two column commanders. The 'Waffs' were to continue their march to the main crossing, and were then to fall on the enemy from behind,

release our detachment and also our convoy. The further movements would be governed by circumstances. As a matter of fact after a good deal, of scrapping they released our convoy and finally occupied Kuti, ten miles South of Fumban on 5th December.

We, the Bare column, were to make the best of our way to Fumban by a side road and relieve the king from his anxieties. We therefore proceeded to carry out our part of the programme, and after burning a German military post—the greater part of which was hunting for the 'Waff' column in quite the wrong direction—found ourselves early on 2nd December approaching the walled city of Fumban, the capital of the Native state of Bamum.

The town is protected by two systems of defences with certain roughly defined entraces. The outer line consists of a very high mound and deep ditch enclosing a huge tract of country as well as the town proper. This mound could be seen away in the distance taking the hills and valleys as they came, and its total length must be anything up to thirty-five miles. The king told me that it was made by his grandfather nearly ninety years ago[13] before a White man had ever been heard of in the country. The inner line of defence surrounds the town proper and, like the outer one, consists of a formidable mound and ditch. The main road from the Nun, on which we now were, enters it by a solidly built gateway with guard houses and loop-holed towers. As the column was nearing the inner wall a messenger was seen to be approaching: he proved to be an emissary from the king to say that his sable majesty was on the point of arriving, and at the next turn in the road we came face to face with the cavalcade.

The king himself, and one or two of his courtiers were mounted on horse,—the rest of the suite were on foot. The column halted and the column commander awaited the arrival of the king who hurriedly threw himself off his pony and advanced on foot—a fine upstanding man not very negro in type, dressed in blue robes, and wearing a turban with the end tied under his chin and over his mouth. He was a trifle nervous, as he did not know what to expect, but on being told that no harm would come to him he brightened up and told us that the German troops had left the town the day before. As to supplies, the recital made our mouths water—beef, goats, fowls, duck-fowls, hen fruit (the words are the king's) bananas and pineapples, brought visions of better times to men who for the last ten days had been existing and marching on a scanty diet. At last we arrived at the king's village which was approached by a large and sombre looking gateway, guarded by a selection of burly ruffians armed with bows and arrows and broad-bladed spears. At some little distance from the gate-house was a gigantic flagstaff near which the king and his court had taken up their position surrounded by his subjects.

Our travel-stained and ragged army then marched in and took up its position facing the flagstaff. A small Union Jack was bent on to the hallyards, run up, and broken out. The troops presented arms and the only two buglers with the force sounded the General Salute. As the flag rose the assembled Natives, at a sign from the king, clapped their hands, making a great volume of sound. The army then sloped arms, and the column commander having called for three cheers for His Majesty King George V, Fumban became temporarily at any rate, a portion of the British Empire.

The king now hurried off with the staff to arrange for our accommodation in the late German barracks on the Northern spur of the ridge, while the troops fell out and I doubt not allowed their thoughts to wander to the flesh-pots of Fumban. But it was not to be—in this case there was a very big slip—for a letter was brought to the king addressed to the late German Commander. It was from one Losch—a German column commander—and stated that he proposed to enter the town in the course of the next hour or so. He evidently knew nothing of our arrival. Hard on the heels of this messenger came another from Major Uniacke, commanding a Nigerian column from Banyo, saying that he also was about to arrive, and bidding the king prepare for him. This made matters simple, as Uniacke could look after the town while we went out to strafe Losch.

Arrangements were soon completed, but the Germans had too good a start, and all we got were

a few wounded prisoners, four or five ponies, some rifles and several boxes of ammunition. The chase was continued for a mile or so with no further result than the probable one of having given Losch's column the surprise of it's life, and scattering it to the four winds. That night I had a bath and dined off a " duck-fowl " in the German barracks. The next week was occupied in clearing up the country and making ourselves comfortable and safe for a possibly protracted stay.

One day the column commander and I visited Njoya in his house.

A large photograph of Njoya in a special German uniform, including a pickel-haube, adorns one wall of his room : and an equal-sized portrait of his chief wife graces the other. An empty photograph frame stood on the table, and Njoya naively explained that it had contained a portrait of the Kaiser, but that now he proposed to substitute one of king George.

Soon after these events the Bare Column left Fumban on its return journey to Dschang ".(C)

Such is the British account of the capture of Fumban written on the spot. There is a remarkable agreement between Njoya's account written four years later. Whenever I have been able to check up on Njoya's statements I have found him reliable.

NOTES

(1) The year is meant to be 1920. Hence Njoya's account was written some four years after the events which he describes had happened.

(2) Manga is here chief, Manga Bell of Duala, whose land was expropriated by the Germans in contravention of the treaty of 1884. The European version is that Manga Bell himself sought to stir up rebellion among inland tribes. According to Njoya it was a son of Manga Bell : " What was worse, was his (Manga Bell's) efforts to win the support of a number of powerful chiefs in the Cameroons against Germany. One agent was sent to king Joja of Fumban with a request for support. . . . Arrested on the charge of high treason. . . . . Manga Bell was executed by the Germans". [Rudin H. R. *Germans in the Cameroons*, 413. London 1938.]

(3) Makwup is a Bamum word meaning swamps, and refers derogatively to the swampy coastal area and so by implication, means *Duala*.

(4) That is to say, to Banyo.

(5) This column was the Cross River column under Major Crookenden and had recently captured Bamenda.

(6) The Mabe or Mape river, a tributary of the Sanaga, and flowing west to east at Fumban, passes north of the town. This column came from Banyo under Major Uniacke. (Moberly, F. J. *Military Operations Togoland and the Cameroons*. 368. London 1931.)

(7) Actually on 2. 12. 1915.

(8) Njisse is one of the wards into which Fumban is divided.

(9) Njoya writes that the British paid " much money " for supplies handed by him to the British. This remark should be contrasted with the statement in section III of his History where he says that " no record was kept " of supplies given to the Germans and for which I was informed, he received no re-imbursement.

(10) There is no mention of such executions by Njoya in his detailed History. I conclude, therefore, that the mention of executions was a trick to speed up the British advance.

(11) The troops had been led into the marshes of the Nun and this was the " dry season ".

(12) These boats, consisting of bundles of raffia-palm midribs lashed to-gether, recall the *baris*, or reed floats of the ancient Egyptians. " On lake Tsana in Abyssinia and in the Egyptian Sudan the same forms are found. On lake Tchad in the south western Sudan an elaborate reed canoe of considerable size is still in use. It has all the features of an early Egyptian boat." (Daryll—Forde, C. *Ancient Mariners*. 10. London 1927.)

The use of these reed-type floats in the marshes of the Nun by the Bamum, where ample trees for large size dug-out canoes are available, can be explained as another instance of the diffusion of the ancient Egyptian *baris*. The history of the Bamum shows that they migrated from the environs of lake Tchad.

(13) According to Njoya's history, this wall was built by king Mbwŏmbwŏ after the town had

been destroyed by a Fulani raid from Banyo. Njoya would be the 5th ruler from Mbwŏmbwŏ.

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MALINOWSKI'S CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

MAX GLUCKMAN

The late Professor Malinowski's contribution to social anthropology is manifold. His influence in specializing social anthropology and its field research methods, his own field reports, and the school of able and eager students whom he created about himself, have affected for the good every school of anthropology in the world. In this review of a posthumous book I do not consider these in detail, but attempt to assess his statement of his " functional theory ".

Three things struck me as most significant in this book.[1] The first is that not only are the concepts basically the same as those set out by Malinowski in his essay on *Culture* in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (1931), but also that in so far as he has developed his analysis it is proportionately more on the psycho-physiological rather than on the sociological side, i.e. he deals more with the processes by which the human organism is conditioned so that purely biological, cannot be separated from cultural behaviour, while his discussion of the interrelations within culture itself has made no analytical advance. This is despite the fact that the years 1931-41 saw marked progress in the quantity and quality of professionals' field-reports. Second, we have collected here three essays which are more or less repetitive and polemical statements of the same thesis. In his *Sir James George Frazer : A Biographical Appreciation* (1942) he leads from a survey of Frazer's theories to an almost word-for-word re-statement of his *A Scientific Theory of Culture* (1941) and *The Functional Theory* (1939). This is a posthumous book, but I infer from the *Preface* that Malinowski himself made the initial preparations to publish these three almost identical essays together.

Finally, the essay on Frazer ends in an overpitched statement of what anthropology must contribute to the solution of the world's problems. This leads to a most naive set of proposals, which he makes seemingly unaware of the complicated forces involved, for ending war. Malinowski's tendency to slip almost unconsciously from analytical into practical problems is present in the other two essays : it dominates his recent *The Dynamics of Culture Change*.

These three facts all point to the main weaknesses of Malinowski's " functional theory " of culture. It is true and obvious enough, as he stresses, that human beings have biological needs and that they satisfy these indirectly through culture, which creatures new needs. As an anthropologist, I am incompetent to assess this part of his thesis, which I assume summarises the findings of certain behaviouristic schools. This has to be evaluated by physiologists and psychologists. Chappel and Coon in their *Principles of Social Anthropology* have used different behaviouristic findings in what appears to be as illuminating and unilluminating a way as a foundation for social anthropology. In my opinion, anthropologists should take these biological needs as given, save in so far as they are transmuted into moral, jural, and ritual norms and values. As such, they fall into the field of sociological study, which I would define as the search for invariable relations in the behaviour of individuals and groups in a social system. There appears to me to be little point in sending an anthropologist trained expensively and living at some cost in the field, to Africa to find out that some Bantu tribe has a complex organization to satisfy the need of its members for food, just as we have a complex organization for this purpose. That statement adds little to our knowledge, though the description of the tribal organization adds a lot.

The excessive development of Malinowski's thesis on the " conditioning " side implies a

[1] *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays* by Bronislaw Malinowski, with a preface by Huntington Cairns. Chapel Hill, The University of Carolina Press, 1944. Vii + 228 pp., index. 18s. 6d. (English price).

definite failure of his theory on the "intra-cultural" side. I see this as reflecting the fact that the "function" of an institution is its satisfaction of a need: and needs are common to all societies. Therefore all problems beyond the descriptive phase are answered at once, as witness: "I am not quite certain whether my brief indication of what the function of each institution is, will remain final" (p. 175). I note here that it might be difficult to pin Malinowski on this point, since he gives at least four different definitions of function. Some pliability in the use of words is necessary, but pliability should not degenerate into sloppiness. Thus: (a) "for function cannot be defined in any other way than the satisfaction of a need by an activity in which human beings cooperate, use artifacts, and consume goods" (pp. 39, 83 and 111); (b) "We would have to assess the position of such a group with relation to the community as a whole, that is, to define its functions" (p. 45); (c) "the concept of function, by which we see that distribution and consumption are as much dependent upon the total character of a culture as on the productive organization itself" (p. 50); and (d) "finally, we have introduced the concept of function, that is, the integral result of organized activities, as distinguished from charter, that is, the purpose, the traditional or new end to be gained" (p. 53).

From the next use of the word I got no meaning: "And it is the solution of these problems, that is, the function of the various institutional types, that provides the primary determinism" (p. 66).

This carelessness in writing and inconsistency in thought is typical of many passages and arguments in the book. Nevertheless, it seems to me that Malinowski gives a good description of the process of cultural conditioning and also re-states well the universal occurrence of certain human institutions—as under the chapter-heads in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*. This justifies his assumption of common basic needs, but is no new contribution.

The best part of the book, and it is valuable though only a repetition of what he wrote many years ago, is his analysis of "the structure of institutions as integrals" [!]. This, largely as developed by Malinowski, is a significant contribution to the humanistic disciplines. "Function" in his principal sense is merely a limiting factor in the sociological field, though it presents a real psycho-physiological problem. It has little value as a sociological concept. There is a myth among anthropologists that one of Malinowski's students ended a long thesis: "our survey of the facts has forced us to conclude that the function of leadership in primitive societies is to initiate and organize activities." Is this much more of: "There's ne'er a villian, dwelling in all Denmark, but he's an arrant knave" than Malinowski's (pp. 115-6): "We could state that the function of the tribe as a political unit is the organization of force for policing, defence, and aggression . . . the function of age-groups is the co-ordinating of physiological and anatomical characteristics as they develop in the process of growth, and their transformation into cultural categories. In occupational groups we see that the carrying out of skills, techniques, and such activities as education, law, and power, constitute the integral function of the group".

To alter Pareto: the functions go, the "institutions" endure. Here Malinowski's valid and enduring contributions to social anthropology are many. First, he helped it emerge as a specialized subject from physical anthropology, archaeology, technology, and linguistics. Even more, he helped develop it as a subject specialized beyond ordinary ethnography. He did this partly by his own magnificent field-research, and partly by setting out explicitly what he calls "the integral structure of institutions". He states that every human activity is carried out by an organized group of human beings, with a particular material apparatus, under moral and jural rules, with a means of transmitting knowledge, and a charter of tradition. He stressed that accurate and comprehensive description entailed a report on personnel, material apparatus, charter, norms, etc. Moreover, he showed that description of a single item of culture could lead to an account of the whole culture; or, from another point of view, a whole culture could be viewed from a number of aspects, each involving a one-sided description of the totality. Malinowski

developed a system of charts to enable the field-worker to be sure that he had collected all this information. He stressed the importance of balancing Native statements of what ought to be with data on what actually occurs. I need not elaborate his contribution here: his analysis is well-known—and accepted.

But the very strength of this conception, leading to a complete collection of facts, contained a restricting weakness. Because Malinowski insisted on the "integrality of institutions", he was unable to break them up for further analysis: and analysis can only proceed by comparing abstracted isolated events or aspects of events. Therefore in his attempts to proceed beyond the descriptive level Malinowski retreated more and more to the biological side, away from cultural problems. At times he sees this, and immediately after the circular statements quoted two paragraphs above, he writes: "It probably also is clear, to the reader acquainted at the same time with cultural studies and with scientific principles that the concept of function is primarily descriptive . . . . a new heuristic principle in laying stress on the absolute necessity for an additional type of research".

He goes on to define this additional type of research in the next sentence: "This consists primarily in a consideration of how certain devices, forms of organization, customs, or ideas enlarge the range of human potentialities on the one hand, and impose certain restrictions on human behaviour on the other. In short, functionalism is the consideration of what culture is as a determining principle, in terms of the addition which it provides to the individual and collective standard of living" (pp. 116-7). This is Malinowski's second line of retreat from the impasse he has created: he slips from analytical into practical problems. Unable to pose comparative analytical problems, because he cannot break up the "integrality of institutions", Malinowski says: by describing how each culture satisfies the basic and derived needs of its bearers we can set up a standard of comparison, of relative satisfaction between societies.

He proceeds: "This might, perhaps, dispose of the oft-repeated criticism that the function of a cultural phenomenon always consists in showing how it functions. As a statement of fact this criticism is absolutely correct. As a methodological indictment it simply discloses the low level of epistemological intelligence among anthropologists. The functionalist, to take a simple example, would insist that in describing a fork or a spoon we also must supply the information on how they are used, how they are related to table manners, to convivialism, to the nature of cooked viands and dishes" (p. 117)—and then he slips into a tirade against an imaginary "anti-functionalist" and then against historians, which I forbear to quote.

It is quite clear that his example takes him back to description, and he admits and defends this. "Explanation to the scientific thinker is nothing else but the most complete description of a complex fact". This is incorrect. For the scientific thinker, adequate description of a complex fact consists in a complete account of the whole history of that fact and of all the scientific laws of all types which have operated through that history. In this sense, there can hardly be anything in reality even approaching adequate description off the astronomical scale, except in the isolation of a minute series of events, as in factory or laboratory. It is worth noting against Malinowski's anti-historical obsession that the experimenter describes the history of the events he is relating, for he must record the setting-up of his experiment. What Malinowski means here by adequate description is as full an account as possible of all the particular and unique realities which centre in a spoon: if it is in England, of all English culture; if it is an African's spoon, of tribal culture; if it is a Sheffield spoon used by an African, presumably of both. It is as if a zoologist had adequately to describe the parturition of a whale and the parturition of a sheep by describing the "whole" of each animal; and could not class both as mammals because they share a number of characteristics, while differing in many others.

I appreciate that we may yet find that this is little less than the utmost which sociology as a discipline will be able to achieve; accurate and

comprehensive descriptions of particular realities. If so, let us at least be clear that this is what we are doing, and not delude ourselves by sprinkling tautological and teleological " functions " about our analysis. Even as such, sociology already makes a valuable and new contribution to the ordered body of human knowledge. I repeat, Malinowski himself has contributed greatly to our techniques for achieving this aim. His analysis of the *kula* in *Argonants of the Western Pacific* is the most notable example. In Africa, I cite our understanding of witchcraft and magic, of marriage-payment, of lineage-structure, of the role of the mother's brother, of political systems, though these flow chiefly from Radcliffe-Brown and those he has influenced. But many of them used the field-techniques of Malinowski. A comparison of field-monographs written in the last twenty years shows indeed considerable advance here. On this view social anthropology is a craft with specific ordered techniques practised with various degrees of skill, thoroughness, art, and inspiration.

However, I believe that social anthropology may yet proceed beyond that level, and that it has already produced generalizations of scientific description, i.e. statements of invariable interdependence of events, which can be further developed. I cite the first example which comes to my mind, Van Gennep's concept of *rites de passage*. The examples cited in the previous paragraph also fall into this category. I do not consider that we can make any progress in this direction within the framework of Malinowski's functional " theory ". As we have seen, his major units, the institutions, by definition cannot be broken up for analysis, and he constantly stresses this.

The three significant facts I set out in the second paragraph of this review are indications of this weakness of the " functional theory ". Malinowski retreats to the conditioning process and biology because, with his concepts he cannot formulate comparative problems on the cultural plane. For the same reason, we find three essays in one book stating the same thesis in almost the same words. Had his formulation been more fruitful, Malinowski would not slip into a re-statement of " functionalism " every time he tries to pose a comparative problem, as he does in his essay on Frazer. We may contrast this with Evans-Pritchard's analysis of Frazer and Tylor's theories in his *The Intellectualist (English) Interpretation of Magic*[1] where he discusses the weaknesses of the theories in the light of modern research, the type of data which Frazer used and how this affected his generalizations, and attempts to show how far the theories still stand and what further problems they pose. Finally, we should have expected Malinowski to set out some means of comparing the institutions of different societies otherwise than " in terms of the addition [they provide] to the individual and collective standard of living ". His essay on Frazer ends in naive proposals to end war. Always, an attempt to follow up a theoretical suggestion, leads to a practical problem and a facile solution. This last weakness dominates Malinowski's *The Dynamics of Culture Change* (1945), for his whole thesis breaks down in this field. He cannot fit his concepts to the facts of modern Africa.

I cannot in this short review indicate in what forms I think we should pose our problems. *A priori*, there must be very many possible ways in which this can be done. Whichever are the most fruitful, they will have to take account of Malinowski's development of the " organized institution " concept. I consider this one of the major problems of sociological methodology, which should be tackled as soon as possible,

Malinowski's contribution goes beyond a mere provision of a framework and technique for fieldwork. His own books are most vital contributions to the whole body of our knowledge, in their facts and their fruitful hypotheses, suggestions and implications. They will always remain classics of method and stimulus. Many younger social anthropologists, directly and indirectly influenced by him, have done brilliant fieldwork and made notable theoretical contributions.

Malinowski developed the idea of fieldwork whose originator in England was Haddon though Boaz had already begun field research in America.

[1] In *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of Cairo University* Vol. 1, Part II, 1933.

When Haddon took the Torres Straits expedition into the field he began the specialization which established social anthropology in its own right. We may seem now far advanced from the reports of Haddon himself, Seligman, and Rivers, and of those whom indirectly they influenced (Junod, Van Wing, Smith and Dale, Rattray, Meek, Codrington, Lindblom), but this advance is the measure of their achievement. Malinowski's contribution to this advance was notable perhaps owing to the historical accident which in the 1914-18 war kept him so long among the Trobrianders and made him learn the language. Nevertheless, his contribution here is lasting.

His own experience led him to insist on long-term fieldwork and this had marked effects, not altogether good ones. Cairns in his preface to this book says that Malinowski's " own practice was in strictest accord with contemporary standards which require a meticulous knowledge of the whole life of individual tribes ". We have seen there are dangers in this, and Malinowski over-emphasized the need for it. The romantic device " fieldwork " became a slogan : everybody rushed to primitive areas, and later to more civilized ones. On the other hand, everyone who had ever been to a primitive field was able to contribute something, instead of being regarded as, generally, fit only to be an informant. Once " the new jargon " was learnt, he could rank as a professional. Worst of all, the " fieldwork " cry carried a sneer at those who had not done it : better a missionary who'd seen an African, than a Lévy-Bruhl who had not : better an African himself, than a Frazer.

I am the last to decry fieldwork, and I consider that every social anthropologist should have studied at least two primitive societies. But when I reflect on the broad generalizations that have emerged in the history of our science, I find that the most stimulating have come on the whole from armchair students, who saw no primitives though they studied European society : Van Gennep's analysis of *rites de passage*, Lévy-Bruhl's of prelogical collective representations, Durkheim's of division of labour, Hubert and Mauss' of sacrifice and offering, and the many works of Tylor, Frazer, Marett, Engels, Freud, Pareto. When I consider the type of data with which they worked, I can only wish that they might be here again to use the data provided by modern field-research in even more fruitful hypotheses. This is not to deny that some modern fieldworkers have produced as stimulating hypotheses : but, if we are to learn from our history, I hope that some of them will forsake the savage for the study. Should they succeed in advancing the work of their predecessors, it will be on the basis of modern field-research, with all that it owes to Malinowski.

As one who saw even a little of Malinowski's brilliance at work, aside from my reading of his works, I cannot help asking why it was he became tied in the very structure of his institutions. I do not attempt a psychological interpretation, but, as an anthropologist, make a sociological suggestion, Malinowski was the only specialized social anthropologist of his " generation " in Britain after the 1914-18 War. He had done his fieldwork during the war, and came to London with its wealth mated with his intelligence. Haddon, Seligman and Marett belonged to an earlier " generation ". Radcliffe-Brown was the only contemporary of Malinowski's who could have created a rival school in Britain, but he was to do so in South Africa, Australia, and America. Save for the hiving-off of dissident pupils, the rebellious of whom were in practice mostly engaged in field-research outside of England, Malinowski stood as solitary king. He is noted for his distortions of the views of preceding or foreign or filial rivals. Power corrupts. Subject only to criticism from his juniors, Malinowski quarrelled with them or absorbed their views in his original thesis. This remained to the end, in his own words, " primarily descriptive " : outside of his own stimulating field-reports, especially *Argonants of the Western Pacific*, I doubt strongly if any of his " theoretical " statements will have the survival value of his *Baloma : The Spirits of the Dead Among the Trobriand Islanders* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1916). And this stands as a classic statement of the problems of field-research. The present book is at best a

more convenient reference for the thesis set out in the *Encyclopoedia of the Social Sciences*.

I have criticized Malinowski's theoretical frame work which I believe to be a stultifying one, but I have tried to appraise his very real contribution. I do so deeply conscious of what I as a fieldworker and would-be comparative student owe to his work, and deeply regretful of how often I failed in the field to collect the complex data for which he rightly pleaded.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

H. Roland : (1) Grammaire de la langue Kisanga, pp. 111, 1937 ; (2) **Vocabulaire Français-Kisanga,** pp. 150, 1938. (Missions Bénédictines, Anaye de Saint-André les Bruges).

In these two little publications the author sets out the speech of the indigenous Sanga people, separated from the Luba influence that has spread over the whole area. Previous authors have treated the speech of this area of the Katanga as a Southern branch of Luba—Luba-Sanga. In 1928 J. M. Jenniges wrote his *Traité de Kiluba-Sanga* and in 1911 J. A. Clarke put out his roneod draft of *Luba-Sanga Grammar*, the vocabulary part of which was later printed in Madras in 1915.

Roland, in the two works before us, reveals a typical Central Bantu language, typical in phonology, general inflexional rules (as for the perfect stem), and in many nicer details, such as the temporal use of the prefix *di-*. The writer points out where Luba influence is shown, and gives instances of Swahili influence, as in the numerals used. Of great interest are some definitely local Central Bantu phenomena, such as the enclitic pronouns (set out on page 49 of the grammar) also used in relative construction, the strange disyllabic objectival concords (p. 54), and the lack of the usual reciprocal form of the verb in *-ana*. Sanga uses the reflexive prefix with reciprocal as well as reflexive significance ; while certain verbs in *-ana* are said to be of Luba origin and to indicate " une pluralité de directions."

The whole grammatical work is, unfortunately, built up on French grammar, a semi-conjunctive system of writing is employed, and such terminology as " préposition," " adjectif indéfini ", etc. freely used . Nevertheless it is a welcome study. The French-Sanga Vocabulary is a very useful compilation covering about 4000 French entries.

C.M.D.

Ethiopia Under Hailé Selassié. By CHRISTINE SANDFORD. 1946. London : Dent. pp. 149. 10s. 6d.

This is a very well-written account of things in Ethiopia as they are to-day and as they have been changing since 1920 when the writer first took up her residence in the country. It is an account of first-hand information treated in a very sympathetic way towards the people of that interesting country. It reflects the author's great respect and admiration for the Ethiopian Negus, Hailé Selassié who is revealed as a patient and astute statesman, a devout Christian, a man of sympathy and understanding, as well as a hard worker, who is ever ready to participate in his people's labours, struggles and sufferings.

The immensity of the task of eliminating slavery and slave trading is clearly exposed, as well as the Emperor's patient and statesmanlike handling of this matter in view of outside political pressure, his own conviction and the disorganised state of the districts far from the administrative centre, Addis Ababa.

The story of the reforms actually accomplished in the period under review provides good reading ; and the immensity of the task undertaken by Hailé Selassié and successfully carried through in education, reform of abuses, introduction of a new legal code, and the general opening-up of the country with improved transport and communications, is vividly described. The destructive military campaigns, first of the Italian invasion in 1935, and then for the liberation of the country in the Early stages of the Second World War, are touched on only in outline. But particular detail is given of a little-known expedition undertaken from the Sudan into the heart of Gojjam, under the leadership of Brigadier D. A. Sandford, the author's husband, in the latter half of 1940, to prepare the chiefs and patriot forces for the re-entry of the Emperor. This part gives intimtate glimpses of the conditions then obtaining.

Our reading of this fascinating book confirms the publishers comment—" there is no more realistic and up-to-date account of Ethiopia, that ancient country of mystery."

C.M.D.

Elements of Southern Sotho. By R. A. PAROZ : viii + 257 pp. Morija., 1946.

Jacottet's *Practical Method to learn Sesuto* has, in one of its several editions and fairly numerous reprints, long been the only practical manual of this language obtainable in English ; and the same author's *Grammar of the Sesuto Language* has, since its publication, been the only methodical presentation of Southern Sotho grammar available to English-speaking readers. But both books have long been due for either drastic overhaul or complete replacement. Mr. Paroz's volume is an attempt at the latter, as far as the *Practical Method* is concerned. It does not represent a complete breakaway from Jacottet's works, either in background or in method : there is still the same general approach to Southern Sotho phonetics, phonology, morphology and syntax, and the same general manner of presentation of the material to the learner. It is only in matters of detail, relatively speaking, that Mr. Paroz has struck out on his own. In these respects, however, he has done several very meritorious things. He has added, scattered throughout his book, a considerable amount of information not so far available in published form, either in Jacottet's work or elsewhere ; he has, on more than one occasion, corrected mistakes which have occurred in Jacottet's otherwise highly accurate material ; and he has not infrequently systematized matter hitherto known to us only in anecdotal form. His book has, therefore, numerous excellent features, derived and original ; and the student will profit much by a perusal of its pages.

Unfortunately, there are some disquieting points about the work as well. The phonetic chapters are, both absolutely and relatively, weak : there are errors of fact and shortcomings in theory ; and it is hard to excuse either, in the light of the excellent sources which might have been drawn upon in this connection in Tucker's *Comparative Phonetics of the Suto-Chuana Group* of Bantu Languages, and van Eeden's *Inleiding tot die Studie van Suid-Sotho*. A few of the more glaring faults may be named here. The sound represented by *a* in Sotho is equated with those represented by the same letter in Afrikaans *kamp* and French *table*, which differ widely from each other, and are neither of them identical with Sotho *a* anyway ; and even more curiously, the sound represented by *e* in Sotho *pela* (rock-rabbit) is equated with that represented by the same letter in Afrikaans *weg*. Again, the sounds represented in Southern Sotho by *ch* and *tj* are said to differ in being respectively alveolar and palatal, when in fact in normal Southern Sotho they are both palatal (or, more accurately, prepalatal) but differ in being respectively aspirated and ejective. The Southern Sotho sound represented by *l* before *a*, *e*, and *o* is, we are told, fricative, and the voiced form of the sound represented by *hl*, when in fact it is not fricative, and when no voiced form of the fricative lateral represented by *hl* in Sotho occurs in that language. Finally, the sounds represented by *ts*, *tš*, and *s* are clasified as dental, that represented by *sh* appears under the alveolars. All this drives one to the conclusion that either Mr. Paroz has heard little but freak pronunciations, or that his ear is very unreliable, or that there is something seriously wrong with his grasp of phonetic theory and nomenclature.

The sections on morphology and syntax are much better, and indeed in a number of respects constitute a definite advance on what Jacottet, with all his merits, was able to achieve. But it is unfortunate that so little account has evidently been taken of van Eeden's specifically Southern Sotho work, and of Doke's work on Zulu and other Bantu Languages, and that the traditional but outmoded views of the older Bantu grammarians have been so closely followed. The material presented is accurate enough, and forms, besides, a respectable body of examples of idomatic Southern Sotho speech. What is unsatisfactory is the theoretical approach ; and it is to be hoped that, in a future edition of his book, Mr. Paroz will feel able to emancipate himself from this approach, and treat Sotho grammar accordingly. If he does this, and also removes the blemishes which now disfigure his work on Sotho phonetics, the next edition of his *Elements of Southern Sotho* should be a very good book indeed.

G. P. LESTRADE.

The Social Structure of the Southern Sotho ward, By E. H. ASHTON, is Communication No. 15, New Series of Sept. 1946, put out by the School of African Studies, University of Cape Town. This brochure consists of thirty-three roneoed pages, foolscap size, and has three maps.

These sketch maps do not conform with the standardised conventions for representing geographical features. Thus, crosses are used to indicate both hills and ravines. Usually crosses are restricted to the marking of battlefields. Though rivers and streams are shown, one is at a loss to know which way they flow. It is not clear why form lines were not used to indicate the hills and ravines. Such lines would also automatically have indicated the flow of the streams.

The tabulation on page 22 has a column marked " Sex ? " (sic). Its meaning remained undiscovered until I found the explanation in the " Summary " on page 31. Apparently, in some of the groups investigated the total number of persons counted exceeded the total number of names recorded and the excess is accounted for as " sex undetermined " i.e. as " Sex ? " in the tabulation.

Part of the first page of the monograph is devoted to a discussion of the use of the term " ward " as applied to Sotho conditions. " There is no specific name for 'ward' in Sotho," writes the author. Why then use the word " ward " which, applied to Sotho conditions, will not have the meaning it has in English and is apparently not applicable to the Sotho. I fully sympathise with the author in his search for an English word suitable to Sotho conditions.

The smallest Sotho political group is called *sebaka* which corresponds more closely with the English word " riding " as a rural unit comprising lands, tenements and people, than does the word " ward ", which is essentially associated with urb .n economy and polity.

It seems that, just as the family is the smallest unit, so there is also, in agrarian societies a recognised aggregate of land, huts and people which forms a rural economic unit carrying a specific name, *sebaka* in Sotho ; *nome* in ancient Greece and Egypt ; *riding* in Yorkshire ; *hundred* in England ; *obodo* among the Ibo ; *ikot* among the Ibibio and *nte* among the Tikar. The point is that one is dealing with agrarian activity, not urban, why then use the term " ward " which derives from urban activities. The consequence of using the term " ward " is uncertainty. Thus describing the creation of a new ward the author writes :—" This is done either by carving a new ward out of part of an old one, or more rarely, by amalgamating two old wards. In the latter event, the existing headmen loose their position [as ward heads I presume, M.J.] and become ordinary village headmen under the new ward head appointed to the newly created ward—each ward has its own court." It is clear that " ward " here includes territory, villages and people and so is best represented by the English words " riding," " hundred " or even " county " or " shire." Why not use the word " nome " for such rural units and keep the word " ward " for subdivisions of a town such as exist in Serowe in Bechuanaland.

This study of Mr. Ashton shows changes taking place in the political structure which would not have taken place under the earlier, purely tribal regime. Thus, consider the position of Lelingoana. For many years he was a full chief, subordinate only to the paramount chief, but in 1925 the paramount chief placed a son of his as chief of an extensive area and Lelingoana was reduced to the status of a sub-chief. Lelingoana's sons are now definitely sub-chiefs. In the old days these sub-chiefs would have broken away to form nomes of their own rather than submit to this loss of prestige. A continuation of this change will in time create a ruling dynasty and an autocratic ruler, autocratic within the framework of British administration.

The study of the individual families shows that the old social structure is no longer functioning as it should. Whether one regards the levirate as a product of an economy subsistance or, as a development of kinship terminology, one is surprised to find that the levirate custom is almost in abeyance. Thus, fourteen widows are listed. It is true that Professor Schapera points out in his *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* that

Sotho widows are allowed to choose for themselves "a seed-raiser", yet one is surprised that there are so many widows in a comparatively small community.

The sororate custom is also in abeyance. Thus Sebapalo's wife died young in child-birth and his parents asked her parents for a sister as a substitute wife. The request was refused. I presume the *lobolo* was refunded, though no mention is made of its being done.

Another interesting point is the repudiation by the cultural, but not physical, father of a child born in wedlock to his wife. The child was not sent to the physical father but to the family of its mother, as though it were illegitimate.

Such studies are a sobering revelation of how the rules and customs of Bantu society actually operate in Native society.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

Review of Thurstan Shaw's pamphlet, **The Study of Africa's Past**, being Memorandum XXI published by the International African Institute.

The Study of Africa's Past is too comprehensive a title for so short a monograph. The subject matter treated therein is limited to Archaeology yet Africa's past comprehends more than Archaeology, as, for instance Dr. Meek's *Sudanese Kingdom* shows; nor is there much study of Archaeology in the article, but rather are indications given on how to set about such a study and what to do to enable others to continue archaeological studies.

The haphazard discoveries made as a result of excavations done for commerce, military or Government projects must still remain the main sources of discovery until proper air photographs are taken to reveal man's scars on nature's face and discoveries then become planned and cease to be fortuitous. I am reminded of a remark made to me in Port Harcourt Hospital in 1945 when Mr. Mirams, P. W. D. Engineer, who, when constructing an aerodrome near Maidugari, had found, when sinking a well there, bits of blue faience pottery and had left them there!

Had some such monograph as this one then been available, it is possible that this blue faience pottery might now be reposing in some museum and not lost in central Africa.

This monograph is, to my mind, dangerous for lack of guiding information. Thus, the section on what to look for should have been supplemented by one on, How to look for, e.g. stone implements; how to examine middens, etc. otherwise one is encouraging a set of curio hunters who may, for lack of guidance, irremediably damage the strata sequence in a cave or midden.

This monograph is essentially an invitation to amateurs to assist in the "Study of Africa's Past", yet I see no reference to the admirable pamphlet put out by the Ashmolen Museum, *Notes on Archaeological Technique*, where scientific methods of excavation are described; nor is there any reference to Mr. Goodwin's excellent handbook, *Method in Prehistory*, where clear instructions—instructions which I have seen nowhere else—are given on how to analyse one's finds of stone artefacts.

Finally there is no reference to the brochure put out by the French Institute of Dakar—IFAN, *Conseils aux Chercheurs*. The great appeal that this French brochure has, is that it guarantees to find some expert, somewhere in the world to deal with any field problem presented to it.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Shaw will now produce a handbook to aid those interested in unravelling Africa's past. Such a handbook should extract the best in the three brochures that I have mentioned.

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